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THE SEPULCHRE OF CHRIST IN ART
AND LITURGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LITURGIC DRAMA

BY

NEIL C. BROOKS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Representations of the sepulchre of Christ occur in art from the fourth century on.¹ They began after Christianity had emerged from the catacombs and become a state religion under Constantine. In the painting of the catacombs the death and the resurrection of Christ were not depicted, although probably symbolically suggested by the resurrection of Lazarus. This Lazarus scene, with its little gabled temple tomb, was the most popular of all New Testament subjects in catacumbal art.

The sepulchre of Christ appears in scenes of the Entombment, of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, of Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene, and, at a comparatively late period, in the Resurrection scene. Throughout the earlier centuries, the most frequent and most important of these scenes is that of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, and it is chiefly in connection with this that the forms of the sepulchre in art will be traced.

Certain ceremonies in the liturgy of the medieval church took place about a *sepulchrum*, that is, about a representation or symbolization of the sepulchre of Christ. In the so-called *Depositio* (*Crucis* or *Hostiae* or *Crucis et Hostiae*) of Good Friday, the burial of Christ was symbolized by placing a cross or a Host or both in the *sepulchrum*. In a corresponding ceremony early on Easter morning, the *Elevatio*, the buried symbol or symbols were raised from the sepulchre in token of the resurrection. Later on Easter morning, usually at the end of Matins, just before the *Te Deum*, came the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, representing the visit of the holy women to the tomb. The *sepulchrum* of these ceremonies seems to have been at first either the high altar itself or a small repository on or in the altar. Later there was a separate structure, richly adorned and brightly illumined.

The earliest modern interest in this sepulchre of the medieval church was archaeological, being aroused by the permanent stone "Easter Sepulchres" which are still to be seen in about a hundred English churches.² They are usually walled recesses with more or less ornate arches. If a church had such a structure it would naturally use it at Easter time as the location for the temporary part of the Easter sepulchre, the bedecked and becardled coffer in which the cross or Host was buried. If there was no such structure, a wholly temporary sepulchre would be set up. Anti-

¹ Josef Strzygowski (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV, 425) assigns the famous ivory of the Munich National Museum, with its representation of the sepulchre, to the pre-Constantinian period, but this lacks probability and has not been generally accepted.

² A list of these may be found in Cox and Harvey's *Early Church Furniture*, 77-78.

quarian research has gradually brought to light, from old wills and legacies, from church wardens' accounts and other archival sources, many interesting facts about the setting up and adorning of these Easter sepulchres in England.

To this archaeological and antiquarian interest has come in more recent years a dramaturgical interest, a result of the increasing attention that has been given to the development of the liturgic drama. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* seems to have been the first of all liturgical offices to develop dramatic form and it remained throughout the middle ages the most popular and widespread of liturgical plays. Its action centered of course about the sepulchre, and from the rubrics of its many versions, of which almost three hundred are known, it is possible to cull many descriptive details concerning the temporary Easter sepulchre. The *Elevatio* occurs in dramatic form, but only in a few late versions. The *Depositio*, although essentially dramatic in nature, did not, so far as our present knowledge goes, develop dramatic form.

The purpose of this study is to bring together and interpret, as far as possible, the essential facts about the sepulchre as known from art, architecture, and archives, and from liturgical rubrics.³ The study is an outgrowth of interest in the liturgic drama and is to be viewed primarily as an attempt to enlarge our knowledge of the *mise en scène* of the liturgical Easter plays, i.e., the dramatico-liturgical versions of the *Visitatio* and *Elevatio*. In addition to published material, generally available, I am able to use a limited amount of material drawn from unpublished liturgical manuscripts. Undoubtedly much more of valuable material lies hidden in the innumerable liturgical manuscripts of European libraries. The rubrics of the *Depositio* often contain fuller details about the preparation of the sepulchre than do those of the *Visitatio*, and unfortunately fewer versions of the *Depositio* have been published. In the appendix are published a few new texts of *Depositio*, *Elevatio* and *Visitatio*.

³ The only real attempt that has hitherto been made to bring the data from art and architecture and archives into relation with the liturgical data was in an interesting article by Dr. J. K. Bonnell entitled *The Easter Sepulchrum in its Relation to the Architecture of the High Altar* in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXI (1916), 664 f., an article, which, as its title indicates, was more limited in its scope than this study. His chief conclusion, which will be discussed later, is that there was a close relation between the early form of canopied altar and both the sepulchre of art and the temporary Easter sepulchre.

CHAPTER II

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN JERUSALEM

As the starting point for a study of the Sepulchre of Christ in art and liturgy, it is natural to turn to the Holy Sepulchre itself in Jerusalem. The Evangelists' accounts of the entombment all agree in speaking of a tomb hewn out of the solid rock, with a door that was closed by rolling a great stone against it; Matthew and John state further that it was a new tomb, and John mentions that it was in a garden.¹ Thus it was evidently a plain rock-hewn tomb of the Jewish type. However, with the development of Christianity and its growing worship of relics and reverence of sanctuaries and its ever increasing tendency to express reverence by richness of ornament, one would naturally expect the Holy Sepulchre itself, as well as representations of it in art and liturgy, to assume an ornate form. Encouragement of this was found also in the prophetic passage of Isaiah (XI, 10): *Et erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum.*

After the accounts of the Evangelists the next knowledge we have concerning the place of burial is from Eusebius, the Greek historian and contemporary biographer of Constantine. In his *Vita Constantini* he states that he wrote a separate treatise on the church of the Saviour and his sepulchre,² a work which unfortunately is no longer extant. The *Vita* itself, however, contains a rather full but not always perfectly clear description of the entire site and its buildings. It relates that Constantine "judged it incumbent upon him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all" . . . "that the Holy Sepulchre had been covered with rubbish and with idols by the ungodly." . . . that "Constantine commanded the materials of the idol temple, and the soil itself, to be removed at a distance," and that "as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered." This monument Constantine adorned, and over it he probably built a circular structure, the Anastasis. He also built a large basilica, the Martyrium,

¹ Matt. XXVII, 60; Mark XV, 46; Luke XXIII, 53; John XIX, 41 and XX, 1.

² *Vita Const.*, IV, 46: "The structure of the Church of our Saviour, the form of his sacred cave, the splendor of the work itself, and the numberless offerings in gold and silver and precious stones, I have described to the best of my ability, and dedicated to the Emperor in a separate treatise, which on a fitting opportunity I shall append to this present work." (This, as other citations, in the translation of E. C. Richardson in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd Series, I.)

and enclosed a large open court, or atrium, with porticoed walls on three sides, the fourth side being the basilica. These were erected according to Eusebius in the years 326 to 335. Although these buildings of Constantine have long since been destroyed, it has nevertheless been clearly established, especially by excavations of the Russian Palestine Society,³ that they were on the same plateau of rock on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands today. There is, of course, a very natural doubt as to its being, as Constantine thought, the true site of Christ's entombment.

Eusebius gives no description of the Anastasis, built over the sepulchre, and it may possibly have been erected somewhat later. Of the sepulchre itself he says (III, 24): "This monument, therefore, first of all, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, and profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind"—a description which emphasizes its splendor but gives very little aid in picturing it. With the fervid cult of the Sepulchre thus inaugurated by Constantine, Jerusalem became the most sacred place of pilgrimage, and several more or less clear descriptions of early pilgrims have been preserved, which supplement the account of Eusebius.

Upon the basis of all the evidence, it is now generally accepted that the Anastasis was a rotunda⁴ entirely separate from the Martyrium, not in it, as some have thought. Heisenberg places it to the east, but it was probably to the west of the Martyrium.⁵ Somewhere in the atrium, between the Anastasis and the Martyrium, was a small eminence, known as the Rock of Golgotha. The essential part of the "monument" of the Holy Sepulchre, within the Anastasis, was, as the sources unanimously state, a part of the natural rock. This seems to have been quadrangular in form. In it was the sacred cave and before it the stone which closed the entrance to the cave. Within the cave were lamps and the grave, which was probably on the north side, as later pilgrims report. The grave was either a sarcophagus above the level of the floor, or, more probably, sunken into the floor.⁶

³ See Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche*, 13. Much has been written (and most of it worthless) about the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The earlier literature is briefly reviewed by August Heisenberg in his very thorough study, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig, 1908, (*Grabeskirche*, 5 f.). My references to Heisenberg are always to the *Grabeskirche*, unless otherwise indicated.

⁴ "Ecclesia in rotundo posita" says the *Breviarium de Hierosolyma* of the sixth century, Heisenberg, 117. It is probable that the ancient mosaic in the apse of S. Pudenziana in Rome gives a more or less faithful picture of it. (See Heisenberg, 141 f. and Tafel V.)

⁵ See O. Wulff's review of Heisenberg's work in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVIII, 538 f.

⁶ This seems to be indicated by the *poteus* of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*: "quia monumento de petra est naturale excisus et poteus ex ipsa petra excisus, ubi Corpus Iesu Christi positum fuit." See Heisenberg, 122.

Encircling columns, connected with silver lattice-work,⁷ formed a protecting barrier around the natural rock. The columns, with connecting arches, supported a latticed roof of gold and silver, the whole forming a sort of canopy or ciborium. "Super ipso sepulcro transvolatile argenteum et aureum et in circuitu omne de aurum," says the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*. Heisenberg gives (p. 119 f.) a philological discussion of the word *transvolatile* and shows convincing reasons for interpreting it to mean "ciborium." In the description of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* is the sentence: "ipsum monumentum sic quasi in modum metae coopertus ex argento sub solas aureos"; from the phrase *in modum metae* Heisenberg (p. 124) thinks that from the natural rock rose a silver shaft. The opinion of O. Wulff,⁸ which seems to me more probable, is that the *meta* of the *Itinerarium* is the same as the *transvolatile* of the *Breviarius*, viz., the ciborium of silver and gold.

The buildings erected by Constantine were destroyed by the Persians in 614—just how completely is not known. In the decade from 616 to 626 they were rebuilt by Modestos, patriarch of Jerusalem. Pilgrims' descriptions subsequent to this, including the account of Adamnan with the famous plan of Arculf, can therefore be used with safety only for this later and less interesting period. According to Adamnan, whose information is of second hand through Arculf, the Holy Sepulchre was a cylindrical body of natural rock, within which was the sacred cave, large enough to hold nine people. On the exterior the natural rock was covered with plates of marble and at its summit was a golden cross. The plan of Arculf shows the entrance to the sacred cave on the east and the rectangular grave within on the north side, to the right of the person entering for prayer. This general description, including the location of the door and grave, is confirmed by the Nun of Heydenheim, who writes what Bishop Willibald (ca. 740 A. D.) tells her of his pilgrimage. She, however, describes the block of natural rock as square below and slender above—"est quadrans in imo et in summo subtilis." Since both she and Adamnan have their information second hand, it is hard in this question of shape to know which to believe. Heisenberg (p. 178) is probably right in giving preference to the round monument of Adamnan, supported by the plan of Arculf. The buildings of Modestos, doubtless with changes through the centuries, survived until 1010 when they were completely destroyed by El Hakim, Caliph of Egypt. Greek architects built them again in 1048, retaining the plan of Modestos and the rotunda over the Holy Sepulchre. In 1130 the Crusaders undertook to unite in a single monumental structure all the sanctuaries

⁷ Mentioned repeatedly in the *Peregrinatio* of the Abbess Etheria (formerly known as Silvia). See Heisenberg, 90 f.

⁸ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVIII, 538 f.

grouped together here, and this, with extensive alterations and restorations at various times, has developed into the complex of the present day. Since in this complex the main part, over the Sepulchre, is a rotunda, there has been, from the time of Constantine on, a circular edifice over the Holy Sepulchre. Despite all these changes, some actual fragments of the Constantinian buildings, parts of wall and frieze and pillars, are still embodied, as Josef Strzygowski has shown, in the structure of today.

CHAPTER III

THE SEPULCHRE OF CHRIST IN ART

In Christian art up to the latter part of the twelfth century the actual moment of the Resurrection was not depicted.¹ The Resurrection-picture of these early centuries was the scene of the holy women finding the tomb empty and learning from the angel that Christ had risen. Since Crucifixion and Resurrection belong together as the two central facts of the Christian faith, it is natural to find in early art the Holy Women at the Tomb combined with the Crucifixion, being usually placed beneath it. When in the thirteenth century the picturing of the actual Resurrection became frequent, the fundamental importance of the scene of the Holy Women came to an end. The scene continued to be fairly common through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but ultimately vanished almost entirely.

In several places the iconography of this scene has been sketched in broad lines.² In the genesis of this early "Resurrection-picture" the really creative factor, as Otto Schönewolf has said,³ seems to have been not so much the Gospel account as Constantine's discovery of the Holy Sepulchre and the resulting cult in Jerusalem. From this impulse there developed two types of representations in art, differing with the cultural region, one a Syro-Palestinian type in close connection with the Holy Sepulchre itself and its cult, the other a freer, more ideal Western type, an outgrowth, however, of the same impulse. The tracing of the development of the Eastern and Western types with their influences upon each other would give the iconography of the scene. For the purposes of this study a brief survey will suffice, with the emphasis upon the forms of the sepulchre. Although the earliest known representations are of the Occident, the Eastern development will be sketched first, through its Syro-Palestinian and its medieval Byzantine types, and then the Western development from its forms on early Christian sarcophagi through the long period of the "temple type" and the later "coffer type" down to the Renaissance.

¹ See Wilhelm Meyer, *Nachrichten von d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* (1903), 236 f.

² Hans Semper, *Ivoires du X^e et du XI^e Siècle au Musée National de Buda-Pesth*, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1897), 389 f. W. Petkowic, *Ein frühchristliches Elfenbeinrelief im Nationalmuseum zu München*, Halle (Diss.) (1905), 11 f. Heisenberg, *Apostelskirche*, 251 f. Wilhelm Vöge, *Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, 223 f. G. Sanoner, *La Vie de Jésus-Christ, racontée par les imagiers du moyen âge sur les portes d'églises*, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1907), 366 f. N. Pokrowskii, *The Gospel in the Monuments of Iconography* (Russian), 392 f.

³ *Die Darstellung der Auferstehung Christi*, 83.

1. Syro-Palestinian Type

It is chiefly the merit of Josef Strzygowski⁴ to have swung the emphasis in the study of early Christian art from Rome to the East and especially to have traced art influences centering in Syria and Palestine. Here was developed in the sixth century a type of representation of the Holy Women at the Tomb that was evidently in close touch with the cult at the Holy Sepulchre itself. Its best examples are the representations of the scene on eight of the sixteen famous ampullae of Monza⁵ which Queen Theodolinde received either direct from Jerusalem or as a gift from Gregory the Great. They are small vessels which were used to bring back holy oil from the sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

The Syro-Palestinian type is of symmetrical composition—in the center the sepulchre, on the right the angel with nimbus and wings, bearing a lance-like rod, with one hand upraised towards the sepulchre and towards the Maries who are approaching on the left. They also have a nimbus and are always two in number, in keeping with the account of Matthew; the one in front usually has a swinging vessel, which is probably a censer;⁶ the one behind has generally an ointment vase. The sepulchre shows as a rule one side of a quadrangular body, usually with diagonally latticed double doors; this is completed by a pyramidal, or occasionally cupola-shaped, upper part, a sort of ciborium, surmounted by a cross or a palmette.⁷

⁴ See, among other works, his *Orient oder Rom*.

⁵ All to be found in Garrucci, *Storia della Arte Cristiana*, VI, plates 433, 434 and 435; six (from photographs) in Heisenberg, *Tafel VIII and IX*; one or two in almost every work on early Christian art; four, from Heisenberg, in Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

⁶ This swinging vessel on early representations has been variously identified—as ointment vessel, as lamp (in keeping with the “mane, cum adhuc tenebrae essent” of John XX, 1), or as censer. I think it is a censer, as it undoubtedly is in numerous later representations. The practice of censuring tombs was very old. This would shatter Paul Weber's not very plausible theory that the censer in this scene was due to influence of the liturgic drama, which could not have been exerted before the ninth century (see his *Geistliches Schauspiel und Kirchliche Kunst*, 32).

⁷ In addition to reproductions of four of the Monza ampullae, I have illustrated this type by reproducing, from the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II, 188, an Egyptian amulet, in the form of a medallion, of the sixth or seventh century (Fig. 5). Among other examples are one on the Ring of Palermo (reprod. in *Archaeolog. Journ.* XXXVIII (1881), 154), one on the Silver Plate of Perm (reprod. by J. Reil, *Das Kreuzigungsbild*, 1904, *Tafel II*), one on one of the medallions of the collection of the Countess of Bearm (Reprod. by W. Froehner, *Collection de la Comtesse R. de Bearm*, 1905—not accessible to me. See *Byzantinische Zt.*, XV, 423). Early representations that are usually considered related to this type, although they follow it less closely, are: Mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Garr. IV, 251), miniature in the Syrian Gospel of Rabula (Garr. III, 139), marginal drawing in the Etschmiadzin Evangeliary (Strzygowski, *Byzant, Denkm.*, I, 22), design on the Bishop's Pallium of Achmim (Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis*, Plate XVI, 9).



1. (Garrucci 434, 2)



2. (Garrucci 434, 4)



3. (Garrucci 434, 5)



4. (Garrucci 435, 1)

FIGS. 1-4. AMPULLAE OF MONZA
(Syro-Palestinian Type)

This Syro-Palestinian type of sepulchre agrees strikingly with the descriptions of early pilgrims and it is generally believed that it represents more or less faithfully the Holy Sepulchre of the Constantine period, with its block of hewn stone surrounded by a latticed barrier, and its canopy on pillars, with silver and gold latticed roof. The lamp which both the Abbess Etheria and the *Itinerarium Placentini* mention as burning night and day was doubtless within the sacred cave, but there may well have been one or more hanging from the roof of the ciborium as shown on the Egyptian amulet (Fig. 5) and on one of the Monza ampullae (Garrucci 434, 1). A. Wulff, in his lengthy review of Heisenberg's work,⁸ offers what seems to me to be a valuable correction to Heisenberg in giving a different interpretation to the Monza representations of the Sepulchre. Heisenberg sees in some of them (Garr. 433, 8; 434, 2, 7, see Fig. 1) the monument with latticed doors and his conjectured pyramidal shaft, or "Aufsatz" (*in modum metae*), but without the ciborium. In others he sees the ciborium, either with or without a full view of the monument which it covers (Garr. 434, 4, 5, 6; 435, 1, see Figs. 2, 3, 4). Wulff also distinguishes two types, both however with ciborium. Heisenberg's pyramidal *Aufsatz* of the monument is, in Wulff's opinion, the roof of the ciborium. In his first type, therefore, he would put these as well as those with a broader hexagonal view (Garr. 434, 5, 6, Fig. 3). To his second type belong those that show plainly two structures, one beneath and within the other (Garr. 434, 4; 435, 1, Figs. 2, 4). These show the ciborium under a four-columned *tempietto*, which Wulff thinks is an ideal representation of the Anastasis. In both types the block of hewn rock is to be thought of as within the enclosure of the latticed doors, and the puzzling semicircle in Garr. 434, 5 (Fig. 3), which Heisenberg (p. 172) confesses his inability to explain, is the opening to the sacred cave, slightly visible through the doors ajar. The small rectangle is probably not the large stone (of the Gospels) but the rectangular grave (*poteus*) within the sacred cave.

2. Medieval Byzantine Type

The Syro-Palestinian type belonged primarily to the sixth and seventh centuries. Later, and especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a different type, which may be called the "medieval Byzantine type," prevailed in Eastern art and in certain works of the West that were clearly under Byzantine influence. The type is characterized by having the composition center in the angel and not in the sepulchre. A late variation of this type prevailed when the monk-artist of Mt. Athos compiled his *Guide to Painting*. He gives the following description of the scene: "The open tomb. Angel clothed in white is seated on the lid; he holds a lance with one hand and with the other points to the shroud and winding sheet

⁸ *Byzant. Zt.*, XVIII, 538 f.

in the bottom of the tomb. The women bearing myrrh; they hold vases in their hands."⁹

The commanding figure of the angel in this Byzantine type is unmistakable, wherever he may be met. He is seated, usually upon a large quadrangular block of stone; is in almost full face but turns slightly toward the holy women, usually two in number, on his right; with his right hand he points across his own body to the empty tomb on the left; his left hand holds a lance-like rod terminating in a cross or a fleuron. His large wings are sometimes both outspread, but usually, perhaps from difficulties of composition, only one is fully extended. The soldiers are generally present, sometimes in unusual numbers; their minor importance is often indicated by diminutive size.

The sepulchre, a subordinate feature of this type, appears in several forms. In some representations it is a tomb hewn in the rock, as on a book-cover of the Louvre,¹⁰ or the manuscript of the British Museum, executed for Melisende of Jerusalem.¹¹ In others it is a sarcophagus placed before an opening into the rock, but meant evidently to suggest location within. Examples of this are the Byzantine diptych of Milan (Fig. 7) and most of the fourteen representations in *MS Grec. 74* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.¹² In this Greek Manuscript, as well as in other works of art that have both the Entombment and this form of the Holy Women at the Tomb, the Entombment shows the body of Christ being borne directly towards the opening in the rock, without any sarcophagus before it. In other medieval Byzantine representations the sepulchre is a sarcophagus surmounted by a ciborium and without suggestion of a rock hewn tomb. The ciborium is of the cupola form, so popular in Byzantine art from the eighth to the eleventh century. Examples of this form are the mural painting of S. Angelo in Formis (see Fig. 6), and the miniature of a psalter of the Pantocratoros Monastery on Mt. Athos.¹³ Finally, in some cases, in agreement with the Byzantine *Guide to Painting*, the sepulchre is a sarcophagus without ciborium or suggestion of rock hewn tomb, as on the so-called "Altar of Charles the Bold"¹⁴ and the altar of King Andrew III of Hungary.¹⁵

⁹ Didron's *Christian Iconography* (transl. by Margaret Stokes), II, Appendix II, 319. This Byzantine *Guide to Painting* goes back probably to the twelfth century.

¹⁰ Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, II, 657 (and many other places.)

¹¹ Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints*, II, 467.

¹² *Évangiles avec Peintures Byzantines du XI^e Siècle. Bibl. Nat. Reproductions des MSS et Miniatures.*

¹³ Mentioned but not reproduced by E. Dobbert, *Zur byzantinischen Frage, Jahrb. d. k. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XV, 158.

¹⁴ Fleury, *La Messe*, V, Pl. CCCLX.

¹⁵ *Zeitschr. f. christl. Kunst*, I, Pl. VI.



FIG. 5. EGYPTIAN AMULET
(Syro-Palestinian Type)



FIG. 6. WALL PAINTING IN S. ANGELO
IN FORMIS
(Medieval Byzantine Type)

There is abundant evidence of strong Byzantine influence in Italy in the early middle ages,¹⁶ and it is not surprising to find there not only pure Byzantine types but also forms that show a mingling of Byzantine and Western features. The representation on the bronze door of Benevento¹⁷ shows the typical Byzantine ciborium and the general character of the Byzantine angel, but the right hand, instead of pointing across to the tomb on the left, is raised towards the holy women, as is often found in Western representation. A fresco in the Church of St. Urban near Rome, said by Seroux d'Agincourt¹⁸ to be the work of a Greek school established in Rome in the eleventh century, shows the Byzantine form of sarcophagus before an opening in the rock, but it is reversed, the opening being to the angel's right and the Maries to his left. An ivory of the National Museum in Florence¹⁹ shows an angel that is in every respect Byzantine, but the sepulchre is a four-storied tower of the Western "temple type."

Psalter Subtype. A special subtype of sepulchre in Byzantine art is peculiar to the illustrated psalters, in connection with psalms referring to the Resurrection. This type is a rather tall narrow structure, resembling a sentry box, with door in front and with gabled roof, surmounted by a cross. Examples from the London Psalter and the Barberini Psalter may be found in Tikkanen's *Die Psalter-illustration im Mittelalter* (p. 64 and Pl. V). Tikkanen says of it: "The peculiar type of representation, characterizing, as it seems, solely Greek psalter illustration, rests perhaps upon the mention of Christ's emerging from the tomb, which is repeated so often in the liturgy of the Greek church. In the picture of the Pantocratoros Psalter to Ps. IX, 33, he is seen just stepping out of the sepulchre."

3. Western Type on Early Christian Sarcophagi

The earliest known representations of the sepulchre of Christ in art are of the West and on Christian sarcophagi of the late fourth and the fifth centuries. It is in the form of a cylindrical tower, with cupola-shaped or conical roof. It is interesting to note that the tombs of Christ and of Lazarus, both rock hewn tombs according to the Evangelists, are both represented by *aediculae* in early art, and yet are sharply differentiated, the tomb of Lazarus²⁰ being a small rectangular temple with saddle-roof, while the tomb of Christ, throughout its early Western representations, was a circular temple or tower, with or without a square base.

¹⁶ See Dobbert, *Zur Byz. Frage*, 126 f.

¹⁷ Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, III, 705.

¹⁸ *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*, V, Pl. XCIV.

¹⁹ Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, II, 625.

²⁰ Of the tomb of Lazarus, E. Baldwin Smith says in his *Early Christian Iconography* (p. 110): "Nearly all the representations of the first six centuries, either from technical difficulties of depicting a cave, or, as is more likely, from the influence of the temple tomb widely used in Hellenistic times, represent the sepulchre in the form of an aedicula."

It has usually been thought that, before the actual appearance of the sepulchre of Christ in art, it had been suggested symbolically on certain sarcophagi which have in their central field a cross surmounted by Christ's symbol in a wreath, with two Roman soldiers, one asleep, the other alert, in sitting posture beneath the arms of the cross. Otto Schönewolf²¹ has tried to show that this was not intended to call to mind the tomb of Christ and the Resurrection, or at least not to call them alone to mind. He thinks it expresses more broadly the mood of triumphal confidence towards death, based to be sure upon the Cross of Christ. However, the two soldiers must surely, it seems to me, signify a military guard with thought either of the cross or the tomb, or, as Grimouar de St. Laurent²² thinks, of both (the one awake representing the centurion and his companions on Calvary, the one asleep the guards of the tomb). There are certain reasons which lead me to think that they signify solely the guards at the tomb. Their symmetrical position, one on each side of the base of the cross, resembles the position of the guards, one on each side of the sepulchre, on the early ivories of the Trivulzio Collection and the National Museum in Munich, and on the fibula of St. Cesarius.²³ On the Trivulzio ivory they are in the same sitting posture as on the sarcophagi. Also these early representations show both waking and sleeping guards, on the Trivulzio ivory both are awake, on the fibula of St. Cesarius both are asleep, on the famous ivory of the Munich National Museum, one is awake and one asleep, as on the sarcophagi. And finally it seems significant that another sarcophagus has, in the same field below the cross and emblems, a representation of the sepulchre with the scene of the risen Christ appearing to the holy women.

This other sarcophagus, just mentioned,²⁴ is a Roman one and represents probably the earliest occurrence of the sepulchre in art, being assigned to the second half of the fourth century. The sepulchre is a small cylindrical structure with cupola roof; its surfaces are smooth without masonry lines and quite unbroken, except for one small window (if Garrucci's drawing is accurate). This little temple-tower is in the background, partly concealed by the kneeling figures of the two Maries, and distinctly subordinated to the scene of the foreground.

On a sarcophagus of Southern Gaul²⁵ occurs the same scene, except that here three women kneel before the risen Christ. In the background

²¹ *Die Darstellung der Auferstehung Christi*, 41.

²² *Manuel de l'Art Chrétien*, 177.

²³ Reproductions of these three well known ivories are numerous; in Garrucci's *Storia della Arte Cristiana* they are in VI, plates 449, 459, and 479.

²⁴ Garrucci, 350, 4. See Fig. 8.

²⁵ Garrucci, 316, 2; Le Blant, *Étude sur les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, 46 f. and Pl. XXIX.



FIG. 7. BYZANTINE DIPTYCH IN MILAN
(Medieval Byzantine Type)

is the same cylindrical sepulchre, having, however, a door instead of a window. Although the stone is broken and badly worn, so that earlier drawings and descriptions have to be relied upon in part for its interpretation, there seem to have been two figures, probably guards, one on either side of the sepulchre. The symbolic cross with wreath and emblems does not appear and the sarcophagus is probably a little later than the Roman one, either late fourth or early fifth century.

A sarcophagus of Milan,²⁶ of the late fourth or the fifth century, shows a sepulchre with the scene of the Angel and the Holy Women—the women approach sadly, while the half figure of the angel above in a cloud points to the open door of the empty tomb and the sudary that lies before it. The sepulchre, which here is in the foreground and larger, is of the same shape as the above two, except that the roof is not cupola-shaped, but conical, with bands.

The type of sepulchre on early sarcophagi is therefore a rather slender cylindrical tower, resembling a round sentry box. The above three sarcophagi are the only ones that show clear cases of its occurrence. A similar structure is on a fragment in the Museum of Aix,²⁷ and, chiefly because of its shape, has been thought to represent the sepulchre of Christ.²³

4. *Western Temple Type*

The tower type of sepulchre, which in a simple form is found on Christian sarcophagi, remains, in architecturally more elaborate forms, the usual type of the sepulchre of Christ in Western art from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. For the more or less elaborate temple-tower structure of this long period I shall use the term "Western Temple Type." The edifice has usually two or more stories. The lowest story, representing the mortuary chamber, is generally square, the upper story or stories round. Most of the early representations are on ivory.

It is interesting to note how in the fourth and fifth centuries the tradition of using the scene of the Holy Women and the Angel to express the idea of the Resurrection was not yet fully crystallized. The sarcophagi show, in addition to the purely symbolic form, two instances of the appearance of the risen Christ to the holy women and one of the holy women and the angel, all intended doubtless to suggest the Resurrection. The earliest ivories indicate similar uncertainty and transition. The British Museum ivory, assigned by Dalton²⁹ to the early fifth century, seems to show a con-

²⁶ Garrucci, 315, 4.

²⁷ Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens de la Gaule*, 145.

²⁸ Mention may be made here of a sepulchre of similar shape on an early medallion, found, I believe, in Rome (Garrucci, 480, 14). On each side of the sepulchre is a prostrate soldier and above is the word *Anastasis*.

²⁹ O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the Brit. Museum*, p. 6 and Plate IV, c. See Fig. 9.

fusion of scenes. Two guards are present, and two holy women seated in attitudes expressive of grief, but the angel is not present. This might express the time just after the entombment (as is expressed in one of the fields of the diptych of the treasury of the Milan Cathedral³⁰), were it not for the fact that the door is open, showing the empty sepulchre, and thus expressing the Resurrection. In the Trivulzio ivory³¹ the devotional attitude of the two Maries kneeling before the wingless angel suggests a confusion between the scenes of the Holy Women and Angel and the appearance of Christ to the Maries.

Two of the ivories just mentioned, that of the British Museum (Fig. 9) and that of the Trivulzio collection show what was probably the earliest form of the "temple type"—a square base with double doors and flat roof, above which rises a smaller circular story of solid walls with windows.³² In other early representations, probably not quite so early as these, the rotunda surmounting the square part consists of cupola roof resting simply on columns—forming thus a sort of ciborium. This is found on the ivory fibula of St. Cesarius of the sixth century and several others of later date. An intermediate form is the famous early ivory of the National Museum of Munich, in which the walls of the rotunda are solid but are faced with columns and arches.

In the St. Cesarius type, with its ciborium-like rotunda, has been seen a mixed form, a combination of the Syro-Palestinian type with its ciborium and the early Western form with rotunda of solid walls.³³ This seems to me, however, a rather strained explanation. There was a natural tendency to make the sepulchre ever more beautiful—*et erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum*—and columns are more ornate than solid walls; the monopteros was not uncommon in Western architecture, even as a tegurium over tombs; a pagan altar³⁴ on an ancient relief shows such a structure rising from a quadrangular base, strikingly similar to the St. Cesarius sepulchre; the rotunda with solid walls was already lightened by unusually abundant windows; it would thus seem a very natural architectural variation to replace the walls with columns—quite without Syro-Palestinian influences.

The question has naturally arisen as to the origin of the use of the tower to represent the sepulchre of Christ in art and in particular the origin of this early characteristic form of square base with superimposed rotunda. Petkovic³⁵ has advanced a theory that the architectural forms used by the

³⁰ Garrucci, 450.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 449, 2.

³² Bonnell, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* (1916), 702, is wrong in seeing two different structures on the Trivulzio ivory. The guards are on the flat roof of the base.

³³ Semper, *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1897), 396.

³⁴ Reproduced in Fleury, *La Messe*, II, 24.

³⁵ *Ein frühchristl. Elfenbeinrelief* (Halle diss. 1905), 27 f.



FIG. 8. ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS, WITH CHRIST
APPEARING TO THE HOLY WOMEN

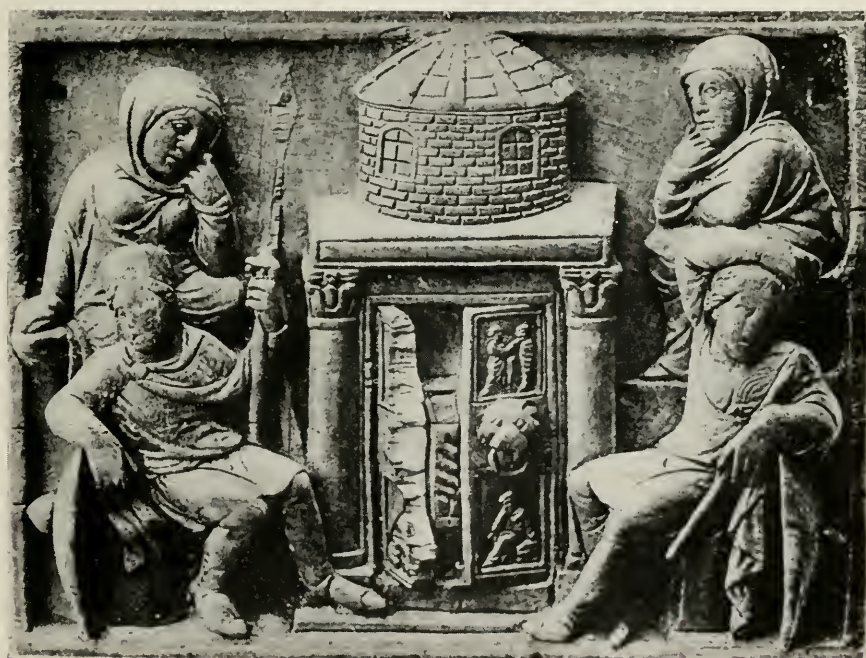


FIG. 9. EARLY IVORY IN BRITISH MUSEUM
(Western Temple Type)

early artists were suggested by the forms of those Host-preservers to which early liturgical writers gave the name of *turris*, and similarly he considers it even more certain that later representations of the sepulchre were in imitation of the forms of medieval reliquaries. The probability, however, in both of these cases is that the relation is just the reverse; *turris* and reliquary had a natural association in thought with the tomb of Christ,³⁶ and their form may well have been influenced by the traditional idea of the first Christian centuries and a large part of the middle ages that Christ was buried in a tower-like tomb, and by its representations in art. This is definitely suggested in an early Gallic liturgy: "Corpus vero Domini ideo defertur in turribus, quia monumentum Domini in similitudinem turris fuit scissum in petra."³⁷

Whence arose, however, the traditional idea of the tower-like tomb, contrary to the Gospels and to the Holy Sepulchre? Over the Holy Sepulchre was, to be sure, the circular Anastasis and this may have been of some influence. The chief explanation seems to me to lie, however, in the early association of tower and rotunda with the tomb. J. Rudolf Rahn says: "Im Grabmale hatte der Rundbau seinen Uranfang genommen und hier bei einer grossen Mannigfaltigkeit von andern Gestaltungen sich in stetem Gebrauche erhalten,"³⁸ and he gives numerous examples, especially from Roman antiquity. To these examples of tombs might be added the fairly frequent round temples, since the close relationship of ideas between tomb and temple was common to antiquity and early Christian times. In Roman tombs, such as those of Caecilia Metella, of Priscilla and others, there is a square base, or mortuary chamber, above which rises a massive circular structure—just the architecture of the sepulchre of Christ on the early ivories, except in the relative size of base and superstructure and in the matter of windows. One needs but to imagine this type of Roman tomb with the mortuary chamber emphasized by putting it above ground and provided with prominent open doors to indicate that it is empty and with windows in the rotunda ("diese Vorliebe der christlichen Architektur für vielfältige Fensteranlagen"³⁹) to get quite the type of sepulchre on the British Museum ivory or that of the Trivulzio collection. Other monuments of antiquity, such as that of Lysikrates in Athens,⁴⁰

³⁶ See Yrjo Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, 159 f. Also Fleury, V, 60 f.

³⁷ Fleury, V, 62. An ancient benediction for a pyx designates it as *Corporis Christi novum sepulchrum* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXI, 1185).

³⁸ *Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung des christlichen Central-und Kuppelbaus*, 20. Cahier speaks of "cette forme de rotonde qui plus d'une fois a dérouté les amateurs en leur faisant prendre pour des baptistères d'une haute antiquité ce qui n'était que des monuments funéraires élevés sur les restes de quelque mort plus ou moins important." *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, II, 68.

³⁹ Rahn, 42.

⁴⁰ Ludwig von Sybel, *Wellgesch. d. Kunst im Altertum*, 327.

or of the Julii in St. Remy,⁴¹ show square base and circular columnar superstructure. Thus, in the architecture of Roman tombs and other monuments of the Occident, there seems to me to lie sufficient suggestion to explain the characteristic form of the sepulchre of Christ on the early ivories.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail the many examples of the "temple type" through the long period of its prevalence. The form of the early ivories persists. That this form is considered possible throughout the period is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the early Christian ivory of the National Museum in Munich has been dated by different art historians in every century from the third to the eleventh.⁴² A late and rather free copy of this ivory is preserved in a Liverpool ivory⁴³ of the ninth century. A somewhat doubtful ivory of the Louvre,⁴⁴ possibly of the tenth or eleventh century, imitates the whole composition of the early Christian diptych of the Milan Cathedral, simplifying, however, the circular temple-sepulchre to one story. A two-storied sepulchre of the exact shape of this early Milan ivory, and, like it, accompanied by the less usual scene of the appearance of Christ to the Maries, is found on a Manchester ivory.⁴⁵ Along with this persistence of comparatively simple early forms there are new shapes of greater elaborateness and infinite variety, such as three and four-storied temples, basilicas with or without towers, single circular towers comparable to those on early sarcophagi, phantastic complexes of many towers, etc. A careful study of the forms would doubtless yield certain interesting groups and classifications. Something of this is in fact revealed by a rather cursory examination of the first volume of the *Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, so admirably published by Adolph Goldschmidt.⁴⁶ Although his classification of the ivories into the Ada Group, the Liuthard Group, and the Older and Younger Metz Groups is made upon a stylistic basis without particular consideration of the architecture of the sepulchre, yet each group shows a distinct and different style of sepulchre. Among the thirty-nine ivories of the Ada Group and its derivatives are six representations of the sepulchre, all, except the very phantastic one of Dole (No. 30), showing a circular temple (if two-storied, both circular) with conical tiled roof. The four sepulchres of the Liuthard Group⁴⁷ are slender towering

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 393.

⁴² Petzkowic, *Ein frühchr. Elfenbeinrelief*, 7 f., and for the third century, Strzygowski in *Byz. Zt.*, XV, 425.

⁴³ Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser* (VII to XI Jahrh.), I, No. 139.

⁴⁴ Goldschmidt, I, No. 146.

⁴⁵ Goldschmidt, I, No. 27.

⁴⁶ Volume I appeared in 1914, vol. II in 1918.

⁴⁷ Including I, No. 132a, which is "verwandt mit der Liuthardgruppe."



FIG. 10. SEPULCHRE FROM EVANGELISTARY OF UTA OF
NIEDERMÜNSTER. (TRANSITION FORM)



FIG. 11. SEPULCHRE FROM CODEx OF MASTER BERTOLT,
IN MONASTERY OF ST. PETER, SALZBURG. (TRANSITION
FORM)

structures of three stories each, of which the lowest one at least is square and the uppermost one round. The four of the Metz Group⁴⁸ all show a basilica with saddle roof, either with or without accompanying circular towers.

The three chief elements in the composition of the Holy Women at the Tomb are the sepulchre, the angel,⁴⁹ and the Maries. Since the angel should be near the sepulchre, there are two natural arrangements, either the sepulchre in the middle with angel on one side and Maries on the other, or the sepulchre to one side with angel in the middle and the Maries on the other side. Both of these are very common in the "temple type," although the one with the sepulchre in the middle is more frequent. Of subordinate elements, the guards are almost always found, and a conventionalized tree is frequent, indicating the garden mentioned in John. There was manifest difficulty in disposing of the guards. When the sepulchre was on one side, they were usually placed before or behind it or awkwardly jammed into the narrow space between it and the foliated margin.⁵⁰ When the sepulchre was in the middle, they were sometimes placed in the extreme foreground, but many artists manifestly considered this position all too prominent, and a variety of other solutions are found—they are omitted entirely; they are kept in the foreground, but made dwarfish in size,⁵¹ as they are frequently also in Byzantine art; they lie prostrate under the feet of the angels;⁵² they are put in a separate field;⁵³ they are put with the sepulchre in a field separate from the angel and the Maries;⁵⁴ they peer out of the second-story windows or openings of the sepulchre;⁵⁵ or, most commonly of all, they are put in the upper corners of the composition, either apparently suspended in mid-air,⁵⁶ or on a slightly indicated hillock or bit of ground,⁵⁷ or on the roof of one of the stories of the temple-sepulchre.⁵⁸ A

⁴⁸ Excluding I, No. 80, which, as Goldschmidt says, is an imitation.

⁴⁹ Occasionally there are two angels, and in a very few cases even more. An ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Goldsch., II, 85) has two seated in front of the sepulchre and three more hovering about it.

⁵⁰ Ivory of Munich Staatsbibliothek, Goldschmidt, I, No. 41. See also Goldsch., II, Nos. 62 and 64.

⁵¹ Ivory in Collection of Graf Harrach, Goldsch., I, No. 18.

⁵² On a tenth century ivory situla, Goldsch., II, No. 3a.

⁵³ Miniature in Missal of the priest Henri of Midlum, Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, II, Pt. 1, 328.

⁵⁴ Ivory in Bibl. Nat., Paris (Goldschmidt, I, No. 84), and in Museo Nazionale, Florence, (Goldsch., I, No. 9).

⁵⁵ Ivory of Buda-Pesth (Goldsch., I, No. 165, Semper, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1897), 389 f.)

⁵⁶ Carolingian Ivory in National Museum, Munich, (Goldsch., I, No. 44).

⁵⁷ Ivories of Quedlinburg reliquary, (Goldsch., I, No. 147), of the Collection of Martin Le Roy, Paris, (Goldsch., I, No. 148) and of Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, (Goldsch., I, No. 55).

⁵⁸ Drawing in Hartker's Antiphonal, see Fig. 13 and Bonnell's article in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* (1916); his suggested interpretation is referred to later (see p. 28); ivory in

variation of this last is to have the temple represented solely by a betowered or battlemented arch spanning the whole composition, with the soldiers on its roof. Such a broad arch with slender towers seems to have been especially common in South Germany in the eleventh century (Fig. 11) and constitutes a sort of transition from the temple type to the sarcophagus type without any edifice.

5. *Western Coffer-Tomb Type*

The term "Western Coffer-Tomb Type" is used to designate the representations of the Occident in which the tomb is a coffer-shaped sarcophagus without any edifice. We are told by early pilgrims to Jerusalem that within the sacred cave there was a grave, doubtless in the shape of a coffer, either resting upon or sunken into the floor. In representations of the temple type, the lowest story is to be thought of as the mortuary chamber containing the sarcophagus, and even in the early centuries the artist at times affords a glimpse of it through the open doors. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries in a number of cases the lowest story is open, showing more or less distinctly the sarcophagus, and having pillars to support the story or stories above.⁵⁹ Usually, in these cases, the angel still sits outside the edifice, but in at least two cases of the early eleventh century⁶⁰ the angel sits within or underneath upon a coffer-tomb, above which, resting on slender and incompletely executed pillars, is the typical second story of the "temple type." This represents manifestly a transition form. Another form of transition is the broad spanning arch mentioned above. In the course, however, of the eleventh century, the representation of the sepulchre as an edifice or within an edifice began to disappear, and the sarcophagus began to be represented by itself, without architectural construction of any sort over it (Fig. 12).

In the coffer-tomb type the sarcophagus cover usually lies transversely across the open sarcophagus (Fig. 11). On the cover the angel generally sits, pointing to the linen visible within. This position of the angel shows an evident confusion between the cover of the sarcophagus and the stone of the Gospels upon which, according to Matthew (xxviii, 2), the angel sat, after rolling it from the door of the rockhewn tomb. The holy women, three in number, stand behind or to one side of the tomb. The soldiers are easily fitted into this type by placing them in sitting or lying posture

South Kensington Museum, London (Fig. 14); miniature in Sacramentary of Heinrich II (Fig. 15). On an ivory book-cover in Utrecht, (Goldsch., II, No. 151), on which both angel and sepulchre are on the left side, the one guard that is wholly visible is clinging on to one side of the sepulchre, as if in the act of climbing up or down from the roof. The other guard, only partly visible, is probably to be thought of in a similar position on the other side.

⁵⁹ Figs. 10 and 13 and 15 will serve as examples.

⁶⁰ An ivory at Metz, (Goldsch., II, 54) and one in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, (Goldsch., II, 53).



FIG. 12. SEPULCHRE IN MS 1186, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ARSENAL, PARIS. (COFFER-TOMB TYPE)

immediately before the sarcophagus; occasionally this is raised upon slender pillars or low arches and the soldiers are put beneath (Fig. 12).

This Western coffer-tomb type resembles in many respects the medieval Byzantine type previously discussed, although the angel has not the characteristic Byzantine pose. It is difficult to say in how far the Occidental type is the result of Byzantine influence, or how far it is a purely Western development, a gradual simplification of representation. It is possible that the religious drama was not without influence upon it. Wilhelm Meyer's theory of the influence of the drama upon the Resurrection scene from the latter half of the twelfth century on has been favorably received, and the tomb of these Resurrection scenes is the same coffer-tomb without edifice which about a century earlier became usual for the scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb. After this strikingly late introduction of the Resurrection scene into Christian art, the importance and popularity of the scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb waned. The sepulchre of both scenes has remained from the twelfth century on prevalingly the coffer-tomb type. An occasional Renaissance artist, however, wishing evidently to follow the Gospel more faithfully, has depicted a rock-hewn tomb or a coffer-tomb amid rocks.⁶¹

The occasional occurrence of this coffer type of tomb with canopy or ciborium over it will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁶¹ Fra Angelico depicts the same rock-hewn tomb in his Entombment, his Holy Women at the Tomb, and his Appearance of Christ to Mary. Duccio has in his Holy Women at the Tomb a sarcophagus amid towering rocks; his Byzantine angel sits on the transverse cover quite in keeping with the medieval tradition.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATION OF THE SEPULCHRE IN ART TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ALTAR

This chapter is in the nature of an excursus to consider a theory advanced by Dr. J. K. Bonnell in his previously mentioned article.¹ In this study he compares the high altar, the sepulchre of Christ in art, and the Easter sepulchre of the liturgy, and comes to the conclusion that all three are closely related, basing his conclusion very largely upon the assumption that a ciborium or canopy is characteristic of all three. A conclusion so important as this warrants a rather careful examination. It seems feasible to divide Bonnell's triple comparison and consider here the relation of the sepulchre in art to the altar, leaving to a later chapter the question of their relation to the Easter sepulchre.²

In connection with the sepulchre in art Bonnell uses a very inadequate classification, stating that for his purpose (that of relating these pictures to the architecture of the altar and to the form of the *sepulchrum* of the liturgical plays) it is sufficient to indicate three types, or groups:

I. The tomb represented as a little building with two folding doors, or a rectangular doorway (what I have called the "temple type").

II. The tomb represented as an upright hollow in a rock.

III. The tomb represented as a structure almost or exactly identical with canopied altars.

He mentions that there are some representations of a coffer-tomb, or sarcophagus alone, but does not make a group, or type, of them.

He says further (p. 701): "But that my third group should be so large and so circumstantial as it is, explaining so satisfactorily the rubrics of the plays and the church records of the sepulchre, and illustrating so aptly the form of the medieval altar, is to my mind most convincing." This gives rise to two questions: Is the sepulchre with ciborium a predominant type, especially in the Occident, as Bonnell assumes? Is it reminiscent, or a direct imitation of the canopied altars?

Bonnell states that his list is not intended to be an exhaustive catalog of the pictures of the tomb of Christ, but rather a representative one. However, since he attaches importance to the size of his third group, it is legitimate to consider whether the relative sizes of his groups are representative or significant. Of his group I, he gives four examples. My notes include

¹ *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXI (1916), 664 f.

² See p. 85.

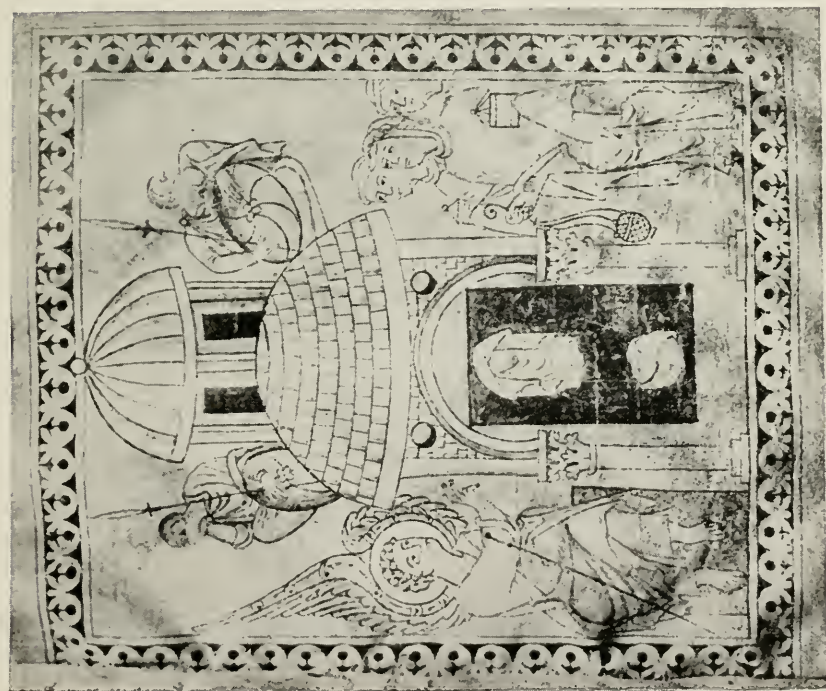


FIG. 13. SEPULCHRE IN ANTIPOHONAL OF HARTKER

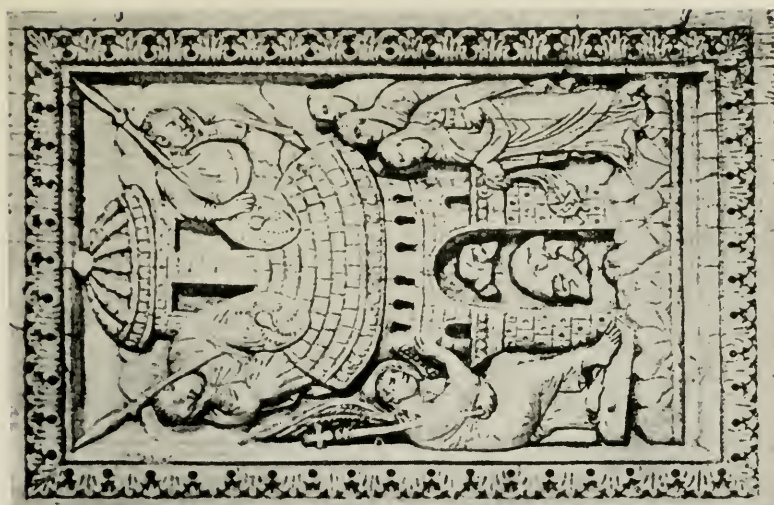


FIG. 14. SEPULCHRE ON IVORY PLAQUE,
SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM

about sixty, of which about fifty have been reproduced. Of his group II, he gives but two examples. Of group III, he gives ten, of which about half, as I shall point out, should not be included. Of the sarcophagus without canopy, which he considers exceptional, he gives five. My notes include some thirty-five or forty and are necessarily very incomplete, as comparatively few of the many illuminated liturgical manuscripts of this later period have been reproduced. This sarcophagus type without canopy was undoubtedly the most common Western form after the disappearance of the "temple type," and was apparently also the most common late medieval Eastern form, being the one described in the previously mentioned *Byzantine Guide to Painting*.³

A fairly thorough search through modern works on art would reveal mention of over a hundred and fifty early Christian and medieval representations of the Holy Women at the Tomb (together with numerous other representations of the sepulchre of Christ in Entombment and Resurrection scenes), and would show over a hundred reproductions of the scene.⁴ In view of this large amount of material that is available even without going back to the original sources at all, the relative sizes of Bonnell's groups lose significance.

In determining how common the sepulchre with canopy, or ciborium, is, it is necessary to leave out of consideration those architectural constructions which are not ciboria. This would, in my opinion, eliminate first of all the drawing in Hartker's antiphonal, to which Bonnell attaches special importance and which he considers "the most satisfactory illustration of the relationship between the form of the altar canopy and the representations of the tomb of Christ." This drawing (Fig. 13) represents simply

³ See p. 15.

⁴ Some general ideas of the number of representations can be conveniently given in connection with the material or the forms of art in which they occur. Over 50 on ivory are known to me, most of them in reproductions. Adolph Goldschmidt's work reproduces 44 from the time of the Carolingian and Saxon emperors. From such works as Vöge's *Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, Haseloff's *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule des XIII. Jahrh.*, Swarzenski's *Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrh.*, some 60 or 70 representations in illuminated MSS are known to me, of which half can be found in reproductions. In my own examination of liturgical MSS I have seen a good many more, of which I have no exact record. A. Sanoner, in one of a series of articles in the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* entitled *La Vie de Jésus Christ, racontée par les imagiers du moyen âge sur les portes d'églises* (1907), mentions 17 in the stone or bronze of church portals, and reproduces 7 of them. Eckart von Sydow, in his *Die Entwicklung des figuralen Schmucks der christlichen Altar-Antependia und -Retabula bis zum XVI. Jahrh.* (1912), lists 15 representations in antependia and reproduces several of them. Other places where representations occur, of which reproductions can be found in scattered works, are early Christian sarcophagi, mosaics and mural paintings, altars and pulpits, stained glass windows, church vestments, and a large variety of metal objects of church art, such as reliquaries, patens, ampullae, rings, buckles, medallions, crosses, etc.

a two-storied temple-sepulchre, of which the lower story is open, with supporting pillars, a form which, as we have seen, was found in the temple type of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. (Hartker died early in the eleventh century.) An example so similar to the drawing as to suggest common influences and yet with a more elaborate temple superstructure may be seen in the sepulchre of the Sacramentary of Henry II, of the eleventh century.⁵ An ivory in the South Kensington Museum (Fig. 14), of about the same period as the Hartker drawing, is so very similar to it that inter-relationship of some sort is perfectly evident, yet here the lower story is of masonry with the usual door-like opening and bears no resemblance to a ciborium. The lower story of the Hartker sepulchre, if it stood alone, might represent a ciborium, and Bonnell suggests *décor simultané*, viz. that the upper part is not a domed superstructure, but is an entirely separate structure representing the tomb at an earlier time, during the watch of Good Friday and Easter Eve. But this becomes improbable, one may even say impossible, when viewed in connection with related representations such as the two just mentioned and in connection with the whole development of the temple-type and particularly with what has previously been said about the position of the guards in the composition,⁶ (as illustrated also in the representations of the Sacramentary and the South Kensington ivory).

Other constructions that cannot be considered as ciboria are decorative arches or other architectonic settings or divisions of compositions into fields. Such an excellent authority as Leclercq states: "Nous n'admettons pas comme *ciborium* ou comme pseudo-ciborium ce qui n'est rien du tout, tel décor architectural plaqué contre une muraille."⁷ Any one who is at all familiar with the earlier periods of art knows how commonly architectural elements, particularly arches, were used for decorative purposes and for delimiting fields of composition, especially in ivory carving and miniature painting.⁸ In Bonnell's group III, I see in No. 5 and No. 9 no ciboria, but simply architectural decoration, and I have considerable doubt as to

⁵ See Fig. 15. The Sacramentary is Cod. lat. 4456 of the Munich Staatsbibliothek.

⁶ See p. 23.

⁷ See article on "Ciborium" in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrét. et de Liturgie*, col. 1612.

⁸ Dalton, in the Introduction to his admirable *Catalog of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the Brit. Mus.*, p. XXXVII, says: "The association of ivory carving with architecture has been continuous during the Christian epoch. In the first centuries . . . monumental sculpture frequently received an architectural background; figures were placed in niches or beneath arches. . . . To the carver in ivory, as to the worker in metal, such a back-ground was of great value, providing his work with a convenient setting and lending it an architectural unity. . . . In Romanesque times the single figure under an arch perpetuates the antique tradition. . . . In the Gothic period, when the statue and the relief stood in the most intimate relation to the fabric of the cathedral, it was natural that the canopies or arches under which the stone figures were placed should have been adopted by the carver in ivory."



FIG. 15. SEPULCHRE IN THE SACRAMENTARY OF HENRY II
OF GERMANY

whether Nos. 6 and 8 represent ciboria. Although representations of the sepulchre with a single broad betowered arch, with guards lying on the roof, which, as previously mentioned, seem to have been common in South Germany in the eleventh century, are not found in Bonnell's list, yet No. 8 of his Group III, a Paduan illumination of the twelfth century, is a very similar form, a double arch with towers and battlements and soldiers on the roof. Such single or double arches with towers and battlements and guards on top are not suggestive of altar ciboria. They are, in my opinion, to be considered transitional variations of the temple tower-type, blending into architectural decoration. No. 3, incidentally, is not the sepulchre of Christ at all, but is the scene, fairly common in early art, of Zachariah and the Angel before the altar.⁹

With the elimination of meaningless arches and other constructions that cannot be reasonably considered as ciboria, the number of representations of the sepulchre of Christ with ciboria over them is much reduced. It is almost entirely limited to the art of the Christian East. A ciborium is, as we have seen, characteristic of the Syro-Palestinian type. This, however, as has been pointed out, is doubtless in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and hence is not reminiscent, or in imitation of the altar ciborium. A ciborium is also at times found in the medieval Byzantine type. The typical cupola ciborium of Byzantine art, as seen in the mural paintings of S. Angelo in Formis (Fig. 6), is clearly related to Byzantine architecture and may possibly stand in close relation to Eastern altar ciboria. However, there is no evidence that ciboria of this particular type, a type to which Bonnell attaches considerable importance, occurred in the actual church architecture of the West.¹⁰ This fact is important also for his comparison of altar and sepulchre in art with the sepulchre of the liturgic drama, because the liturgic drama is developed only in the Occident, and in fact is but scantily found in that part of the Occident, viz. Italy, in which ciboria are most frequent both in architecture and in art.

The number of representations of the sepulchre of Christ with ciborium that could be imitations of altar ciboria of churches of the Occident is so small as to be negligible, in Bonnell's list not more than two (nos. 1 and 10), and to these I do not know many to add from other sources. In view of all these considerations I cannot feel convinced that the architecture of the high altar, in the Occident at least, was of influence upon the representations of the Holy Sepulchre in art.

⁹ A good reproduction, with the inscriptions plainly identifying it, may be found in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1912), 344.

¹⁰ Kraus states (*Christl. Kunst.*, I, 374): "Holtzinger glaubt constatiren zu können, dass die Miniaturen zwischen dem 8. und 11. Jahrhundert in der Ersetzung des Pyramidendachs durch das Kuppeldach bei Darstellung solcher Ciborien einen Reflex der Kirchenarchitektur der Zeit wiedergeben. Die uns erhaltenen abendländischen Denkmäler bestätigen dies nicht, und es wird wohl jene Beobachtung nur für den Umkreis byzantinischer Denkmäler ihr Recht behalten." Bonnell's No. 4 and No. 7 are cupola ciboria. See also p. 85 of this study.

CHAPTER V

LITURGICAL CEREMONIES AT THE SEPULCHRE

There were, as has already been mentioned, three liturgical ceremonies that took place at the sepulchre, the *Depositio* (*Crucis*, or *Hostiae*, or *Crucis et Hostiae*) of Good Friday, symbolizing and commemorating the Entombment, the *Elevatio*, in which the buried symbol or symbols were raised early on Easter morning in commemoration of the Resurrection, and the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, later on Easter morning, representing the visit of the Maries to the tomb after the Resurrection. All three of these ceremonies were extra-liturgical in that they were not a part of the traditional and essential liturgy of the Roman church. They were quite widespread, but never in universal use.

Another ceremony of Holy Week which from the late middle ages on was often viewed as a symbolic Entombment was connected with the reservation of a Host from the Mass on Maundy Thursday for use at the Mass of Friday, the so-called *Missa Praesantificationum*. Good Friday is a non-liturgical day, on which no Host is consecrated, the only such day in the Western church. The Roman rite, therefore, has directed from early times and still directs that on Thursday two Hosts be consecrated, one for that day and one to be reserved for Friday's communion. The term "sepulchre" has often been applied to the Place of Repose used for this reservation of the Host. The relation of this *repositoir* to the true sepulchre will be considered later.

1. *Depositio and Elevatio*

Depositio and *Elevatio* have an interest to the student of the liturgic drama through their close relation to the dramatico-liturgical *Visitatio*, which cannot be fully studied without them. The *Elevatio* has also a special interest of its own in that it developed dramatic dialogue. At the time that this chapter was planned and the material for it brought together, there was no satisfactory study of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. Since then there has appeared an excellent study of their development by Professor Karl Young,¹ with a goodly number of new texts. It becomes my purpose therefore to add some new data to his and to discuss upon the basis of the combined material, certain aspects of the development of these two ceremonies.

¹ *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 10 (Madison, 1920). Throughout this chapter references to Young, without name of publication, will be to this study.

Professor Young's theory of the origin of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* is that they arose, in the course of the tenth century, under the influence especially of the reservation of Holy Thursday and of the *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday, with another furthering influence in the idea of burial which was early developed in connection with such ritualistic objects as the altar, the tabernacle, and the chalice.²

The practice of exposing a part of the true cross on Good Friday to be kissed and adored by the people began in Jerusalem as early as the fourth century, as we learn from the description of the lady pilgrim Etheria.³ From here it was soon communicated to churches elsewhere, to those that possessed some bit of the true Cross and then to others, where common crosses were substituted. The ceremony came into general use in the Western church in the seventh or eighth century⁴ and has continued to the present day. In several of the early church uses the *Depositio Crucis* is found just at the close of the *Adoratio Crucis*. The two rites and their close connection may be seen in the following directions of John of Avranches, Archbishop of Rouen from 1069 to 1079, as given in his *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*.⁵

When these (i.e. lessons and prayers) have been completed, let two priests, in chasubles, singing the antiphon *Popule meus*, bring a veiled cross; to whom let two others in copes, standing in the midst of the choir, reply with the Greek words *Agios*, and let all the others say the *Sanctus*, which is three times repeated. After the third repetition let the priest, coming before the cross and beginning the antiphon *Ecce lignum*, unveil the cross. Let them, so soon as they see it, with tearful hearts prostrate themselves and adore it. After the priest and the subdeacon prostrate themselves and adore the cross, let all the clergy follow, and then the people. Let the adoration of all be so done, that each lay his body close to the earth (*ut uniuscujusque venter in terra hæret*). . . . When this has been done, let the crucifix, in commemoration of the blood and water flowing from the side of the Redeemer, be washed with wine and water, of which the clergy and the people should drink after the holy communion. After the responsory *Sicut ovis ad occisionem*, let them bring the cross to a certain place fitted up in the manner of a sepulchre, where it should be laid away until Sunday. When it is placed there, let the antiphon *In pace in idipsum* and the responsory *Sepulto domino* be sung. Afterwards let

² Young, p. 129.

³ See *Peregrinatio Etheriae* in Duchesne's *Christian Worship*, pp. 510 and 564 of the fourth English edition. It will be recalled that the year usually given as the date of the finding of the true cross was 326.

⁴ Duchesne, p. 248.

⁵ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLVII, 51. The position of the *Adoratio* before communion, as found here, was the usual one and is also the present day position. Martene (*De Antig. Eccl. Rit.* Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII) states that in some places, as at Lodi, the bishop only adored the cross before communion, the clergy and the people doing so after communion. This usage is found also at Laon (Chevalier, *Bibl. Liturg.*, VI, 114) and at Reims (*ibid.*, VII, 235).

The directions of John of Avranches for the *Elevatio* in the night before Easter are brief, being as follows: "At the tenth hour of the night let a few clerks, vested, approach, and, taking up the crucifix, with incense and perfume, and singing the antiphon *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro*, let them put it up honorably in its proper place. Then, all the bells sounding, let them open the doors of the church and begin Matins."

the ministers of the cross, vested in chasubles, bring to the altar, with wine not consecrated, the reserved Body of the Lord, where let it be incensed by the priest and then only let *Oremus: Præceptis salutaribus* be said by the priest as far as *Sed libera nos a malo*. The *Pax Domini* should be omitted, for Christ was betrayed by the kiss of peace. Afterwards let all take the communion from the greatest to the least.

This same immediate sequence of *Adoratio* and *Depositio* is found in the *Concordia Regularis*, which contains the earliest known text of the *Depositio*. The *Concordia* was drawn up, probably between 965 and 975, by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester.⁶ Although it was prepared for use in England and doubtless represents at least an early Winchester use, yet for the *Depositio* Ethelwold speaks of "following the use of certain of the religious which is worthy of imitation," and this earlier use was probably one of the continent.⁷

In view of the close connection of *Adoratio* and *Depositio* in these early uses and in others somewhat later, and of the fact that the cross or crucifix is a most suitable symbol for an Entombment ceremony and the further facts, as Young points out, that nothing could be more natural than a vivid commemoration of the Burial after the *Adoratio*, itself a vivid commemoration of the Crucifixion, and that any taking down of the Cross, after the ceremony of the *Adoratio*, must inevitably suggest a representation of the burial of the crucified Christ, it seems justifiable to assume, as Young does,⁸ that the regular liturgical *Adoratio* was an influence to which in some measure the extra-liturgical *Depositio* and the naturally following *Elevatio* owe their origin.

The first instance that is known of the burial of the Host in the *Depositio* is of practically the same date as that of the cross in the *Concordia Regularis*. The text has not been preserved, but a passage in a Life of St. Ulrich (†973), Bishop of Augsburg, shows that the burial of the Host was in use there and a "customary practice" in the latter part of the tenth century.⁹ An *Elevatio Hostiae* in an eleventh-century St. Gall *Breviarium*¹⁰ parallels the eleventh century burial of the cross in the *Liber* of John of Avranches. Thus, as far as the scant evidence goes, the burial of the Host was as early and, for the early period, as common as the burial of the cross. Young's

⁶ Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 14. The directions of the *Concordia* can be conveniently found in Chambers, II, 306 f.

⁷ The *Concordia* is said in its *Prooemium* to have been based in part upon customs of Fleury and Ghent. (Chambers, II, 3-7).

⁸ Young, p. 26. His assumption of the influence of the particular papal ceremonies of Rome seems to me unnecessary and rather improbable, in view of the fact that *Depositio* and *Elevatio* doubtless originated north of the Alps, probably in France.

⁹ " . . . Sacro Dei mysterio perpetrato, populoque sacro Christi corpore saginato et consuetudinario more, quod remanserat, sepulto . . . " For the complete passage see Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CXXXV 1020; also *Acta Sanctorum*, July, II (Paris and Rome, 1867), 103, and Young, p. 17.

¹⁰ Young, p. 30.

theory, however, that the reservation of the Host on Thursday influenced the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* seems to me to lack the probability that his theory of the influence of the *Adoratio* has. The placing of the reserved Host in the *repositor* was, in this early period, a simple ceremony without antiphons or responsories, with nothing more than was called for by the necessities of the reservation and the proper respect for the Host. There is no evidence and no probability that there was thought of a symbolic burial, such as developed much later in connection with it. If the act of reservation was not thought of as a burial, there would be little significance to the traditional symbolism which was attached, doubtless vaguely, to altar, chalice, and tabernacle at all times and in all services throughout the year.

The following summary attempts to list in a classified way all the texts available for the study of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, including those in Young, those printed for the first time in this study, and a few previously published but not mentioned by Young. About each will be given, if available, these facts: country, century (indicated by Roman numeral), symbol or symbols buried, position of *Depositio*, and position of *Elevatio* whenever it is not in its usual position before Matins. Cases will be included where, from my notes or other sources, information about any of these facts can be given, although complete texts are not available.¹¹

BURIAL OF CROSS ONLY.

ENGLAND. *Concordia Regularis*, X, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*¹²), Young, p. 74; DURHAM, XIV, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*, MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 77; HEREFORD, XIV, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*), text not published, so far as I know; see Edm. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (1918), 295.

FRANCE. John of Avranches' *Libér de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, XI, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*), Young, p. 76; ROUEN, texts of XIII and XIV, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*. *Elevatio* is lacking in both MSS), Young, p. 74; FÉCAMP, XIV, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*), Young, p. 77, n. 23; CLERMONT-FERRAND, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers, MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 84; St. VANDRILLE (Fontenelle), *Elevatio* is in Martene, *De Antiq. Monach. Ritibus*, Lib. III, Cap. XVI;¹³ TOUL, *Depositio* (after Vespers) is in Martene, *De Ant. Mon. Rit.* Lib. III, Cap. XIII.¹⁴

¹¹ Young's *Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre* will be referred to for all texts published by him irrespective of whether they have appeared previously elsewhere or not. Hence all other references indicate material not in Young. Reference to new material in this study will be to the Appendix or to footnotes. Information without a reference or with reference to a manuscript only will be from my notes.

¹² There were three positions of the *Depositio*, "after *Adoratio*," i.e., immediately after the Adoration of the Cross and before the communion of Friday's Mass (which came after None), "after Mass," i.e. after Communion and before Vespers, "after Vespers," i.e. between Vespers and Compline.

¹³ "Hac nocte ante vigilias Secretarius, convocatis ex majoribus fratribus sex vel octo, induantur albis, et levant Crucifixum de Sepulcro, et ponant eum in loco suo, cantantes suppressa voce R. *Christus resurrexit*. Dehinc sonentur matutinae."

¹⁴ "Finitis igitur Vesperis et Sacerdote, casula tantum deposita Diaconoque in alba, stola, et fanulo, et Thuribulario et Ceroferario in albis existentibus, accipiat Crux ab ipso

BELGIUM. *Processionale*, XIV, in Royal Library, Brussels. See Appendix.

GERMANY. South German *Breviarium Monasticum*, probably Dominican, XIII, (MS has *Elevatio* but no *Depositio*), Young, p. 88, n. 71; *Ordinarium Benedictinum*, probably of HIRSAU, XIII, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 78; RANSHOFEN, XIII, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 81; TREVES, XIII, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 83; ZÜRICH, 1260, (*Dep.* after Mass), see Appendix; ST. FLORIAN, XIV, for a description of the *Depositio* (which seems to be after Mass) and the text of the *Elevatio* of this MS (C Fl. XI, 434) see Adolph Franz, *Das Rituale von St. Florian aus dem Zwölften Jahrh.*, (1904) p. 195; MAGDEBURG, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers), see Appendix; MOOSBURG, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers; MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 80; PRAGUE, XIV, (*Dep.* after Mass), see Appendix; ZENO, XIV, and ALDERBACH, XV, (Cod. lat. 16404 and 2725 of Munich Staatsbibl.) have *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of a common South German type, similar to Chiemsee and Diessen; ANDECHS, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass; MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 80; CHIEMSEE, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 88, n. 71; DIESEN, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 88, n. 71; HAVELBERG, XV, (*Dep.* after Vespers), see Appendix; INDERSDORF, XV, (*Dep.* not printed), Young, p. 84, n. 51; LÜBECK, XV (?), an unnumbered MS of the Lübeck Stadtbibliothek has an *Elevatio*, coming after Matins;¹⁵ PASSAU, XV (MS has no *Dep.*), Young, p. 88, n. 71; RAITENBUCH, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 81; REGENSBURG, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 88; ST. GALL, XV, representing doubtless also the use of Hersfeld, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 90; TREVES (St. Maximin), XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), see Appendix; MOOSBURG, XV-XVI, (*Dep.* after Mass) see Appendix; FREISING, 1516, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 84; PRAGUE, 1517, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 86.

BURIAL OF HOST ONLY.

FRANCE. LAON, XII-XIII, (Quasi-*Depositio* and combined *Visitatio-Elevatio* both occur Easter morning before Matins), Young, p. 49; SOISSONS, XII-XIII, (Quasi-*Depositio* Easter morning before Matins, combined *Visitatio-Elevatio* after Matins), Young, p. 46; ST. QUENTIN, (Quasi-*Depositio* Easter before Matins, combined *Visitatio-Elevatio* after Matins) see B. Thiers, *Traité de l'exposition du St. Sacrement*, II, p. 691, also Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, LXIV, p. 88; ORIGNY, XIII, (*Depositio* not printed), Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age*, p. 340.

GERMANY. AUGSBURG, X, described in *Vita S. Udalrici*, Young, p. 17; ST. GALL, XI, (MS has no *Dep.*, *Elevatio* after Matins), Young, p. 30; STRASSBURG, texts of XIII, XIV, and XVI, (*Dep.* after Mass; text of XIV is from Martene, who gives no *Dep.*; Young calls the two ceremonies of the text of XIII *Depositio Hostiae* and *Elevatio Hostiae*, but there is no

Sacerdote super altare S. Petri, et fiat processio ad sepulchrum, in qua processione iste ordo servetur . . . portetur crux in sepulchro a Sacerdote, qui fecit officium in Missa, sive sit Abbas vel alius; ipsumque praecedant ceroferarii, thuribularii et Diaconus et collocet ipsam crucem super altare, ponatque corporale involutum super aspectum crucifixi, et alium pannum super ipsum corporale, incipiendo has antiphonas alta voce et chorus prosequatur antiphonam *In pace*, antiphonam *Habitat*, antiphonam *Caro mea*, antiphonam *In pace factus est*. Iis finitis, egrediatur per aliud ostium sepulcri, eo ordine, quo per primum sunt ingressi. Tunc Sacerdos, qui facit officium, sive sit Abbas, sive alius, claudat ostium sepulcri, incipiens hoc responsorium *Sepulto Domino*, et chorus prosequatur, finitaque repetitione post versum a loco recedit processio, et ostium sepulcri firmetur a Sacrista."

¹⁵ "Ante Te Deum plebanus cum socio levat crucem cantando trina vice *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*, respondentibus duabus trina vice *Qui pro nobis*, etc. Quo facto ambo portant crucem ad sedem suam vel locum consuetum. Statim incipitur in organis *Victimae paschali laudes* et dum respondent *Crist is upgestanden* et continuatur per tres versus et non amplius sed statim incipitur in organis *Te deum laudamus*."

mention of Host in either and in the *Depositio* is the rubric: "Deinde dum uadunt cum cruce ad locum Sepulcri . . ."), Young, p. 38; ST. BLASIEN, XIV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 5; HALLE, 1532, (*Dep.* after Vespers), see Appendix; BAMBERG, XVI, (*Dep.* after Mass; Host is put in sepulchre, cross is left just outside), see Appendix; CONSTANCE, XVI (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 31, combined *Elevatio-Visitatio*, Lange, p. 47; SALZBURG, 1686, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 36; FREISING, 1673, (*Dep.* after Vespers). With Salzburg and Freising belong a number of rituals from the middle of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, listed by the Congregation of Sacred Rites (*Decreta*, IV, p. 433).

HUNGARY. ERLAU, *Elevatio* (after Matins) in Dankó, *Hymnarium Hungariae*, p. 581; GRAN, 1580, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 32; MS of Budapest (Nat. Mus. fol. lat. no. 2669), XIV, (no *Dep.* given), Dankó, *Feier des Osterfestes*, p. 44.

ITALY. PARMA, XV, (1417) (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 43; *Liber Sacerdotalis*, printed at Venice, 1523 (*Dep.* is to be either after Mass, or later, "post prandium"), Young, p. 56; ST. MARKS, 1736, (*Dep.* "post prandium," just before Compline), Young, p. 67.

BURIAL OF CROSS AND HOST.

BRITISH ISLES. EXETER, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 99; DUBLIN, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 103, n. 44; SARUM, texts from XIII to XVI, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 103, n. 44; HEREFORD, later use of XV-XVI, (no *Dep.* in the Breviary of 1505 in Young; according to Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in XIII, XIV and XIX Cent.* (App. XXXII and XXXIII) *Dep.* of cross and Host was after *Adoratio*, before Mass), Young, p. 111; ARBUTHNOT, this Scotch Missal has *Depositio*, but no *Elevatio*, Reprint of 1864, p. 149; DURHAM, XVI, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*), description, but no text preserved, Young, p. 77, n. 23.

FRANCE. ST. ADELPH, XII, (*Dep.* after Mass, MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 92; BAYEUX, XIII, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 101; CAEN, XIII (MS has no *Depositio*), Young, p. 103, n. 44; POITIERS (*Depositio* speaks of *corpus dominicum cum cruce aurea*, *Elevatio* mentions the *corpus dominicum* only), Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII and XXV.

HOLLAND. HARLEM, XIII, (no *Dep.* given), Young, p. 95.

GERMANY. AUGSBURG, XI-XII, (MS has no *Dep.*), Young, p. 95; EICHSTÄTT, an *Elevatio* of XIV, a *Depositio* (after Mass) of 1517, and an *Elevatio* of 1539. Both texts of *Elevatio* mention Host only and it is not certain that they represent uses in which both symbols were buried, Young, p. 104; ESSEN, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers; Host put in sepulchre-chest, cross laid upon it), see Appendix; AUGSBURG, 1487, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 113, n. 78; BASEL, 1480, *Depositio* given by Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Allemanica*, Pars, II, III, p. 857-8;¹⁶ BLAUBEUREN, XV, cod. ascet. 77 (4^o), of Stuttgart Landesbibliothek, an unpublished *Ritualet* of Blaubeuren, has a *Depositio* of which the following is an incomplete text: (f. 43^r) " . . . fit processio ad tumulum cum sacramento et crucifixo. Et canitur R. *Recessit pastor* . . . Deinde revertitur cum R. *Sepulto domino*, . . . cum aromatibus et aspersione honorifice sub dextro crucifixi humero sub custodia . . . recondatur"; BÜCKEBURG, an unpublished *Ordo officii divini in monasterio Bocensi* (cod. ascet. 63 (4^o), Stuttg. Landesbibl.) has *Depositio* (f. 158^v) and *Elevatio* (f. 165^v), in which both *corpus dominicum* and *crucifixus* are buried; FRITZLAR MS, XV, (*Dep.* at Compline), see Appendix; KLOSTERNEUBURG, XV, (*Dep.* not printed), Young, p. 95; PRÜFENING, XV, (cross deposited after *Adoratio*, Host after Mass), see Appendix; REGENSBURG (St. Emmeran), XV, (After Vespers; Cross and Host

¹⁶ Ex missali Basileensi, an. 1480 imp.: "(Communio) Deinde procedat ad sepulchrum cum calice, corpore Domini sine sanguine intus posito, et crucem, quam prius duo sacerdotes gestabant, unus sacerdos deferat, et haec in sepulchro honorifice recondatur choro submissa voce cantante Resp. *Ecce quomodo* . . . (complete) . . . Hic calix cum corpore dominico lapide advoluta ponatur in sepulchrum et iterum chorus cantabit Resp. *Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentum* etc."

placed in sepulchre, Host then secretly removed), Young, p. 109; MEISSEN, a *Depositio* of 1512 mentions cross only, a *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of 1520 mention cross and Host, Young, p. 107; RHEINAU, a *Processionale* of 1573 has a combined *Elevatio-Visitatio*, Lange, *Latein. Osterfeiern*, p. 68; ST. GALL, a *Responsoriale* of 1582 and a *Directorium* of 1583 have a combined *Elevatio-Visitatio* (the rubrics of the *Directorium*, much mutilated in Lange, show the use of both crucifix and Host: "Statim Diacono exeunte sepulchrum cum crucifixo discooperto, incipit ludimagister scilicet cum toto populo: *Christus surrexit* . . . Expletis thurificatione, aspersione, et assumpto Sacramento, processio redit ad chorum."), Lange, pp. 69 f.; BAMBERG, 1587, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 114.

HUNGARY. GRAN or ZIPS (*ordinarium Scepusiensis sive Strigoniensis*), XV, (*Dep.* after Vespers; *Elevatio* after Matins), Young, p. 122; PRESSBURG, *Depositio* in Dankó, *Hymnarium Hungariae*, p. 579.¹⁷

ITALY. AQUILEIA, 1575, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 93.

DOUBTFUL OR IRREGULAR CASES.

ENGLAND. YORK, The *Depositio*, attached directly to the *Adoratio*, mentions no Host, but in the *Elevatio* is the rubric "proferatur Sacramentum cum Imagine cum corona spinea." Young, p. 98; BARKING, XV, the *Depositio*, attached directly to the *Adoratio*, mentions "*Ymago Crucifixi*" but no Host and has a rubric indicating that the *Ymago* is to be raised from the sepulchre on Easter after Matins; the *Elevatio* (after Matins) mentions the Host, but not the *Ymago*, Young, p. 119.

GERMANY. DIESSEN, XV, *Depositio* (at Vespers) mentions the '*Imago*' only but the *Elevatio* mentions the removal of the Host before the raising of the *Imago*, Young, p. 124; MAINZ, XV, the *Depositio* (after Vespers) mentions the *Corpus Domini* only, the *Elevatio* the *Crux Domini* only (*Corpus Domini* would seem not to have its usual meaning here but to be equivalent to *Crux Domini*), Young, p. 113, n. 78; REGENSBURG, 1491, the *Depositio* speaks of placing the crucifix only in the sepulchre (it seems to me that the "*honestus locus*" is not the sepulchre, and that the rubric mentioning it does not belong to the *Depositio*); the *Elevatio* speaks at the beginning of raising *Sacramentum seu Crucifixum*, but the subsequent rubrics mention the *Crux* only, Young, p. 125; WÜRZBURG, 1564, in *Depositio*, cross only; in *Elevatio* cross and Host, Young, p. 113, n. 78, Milchsack, p. 134; the EICHSTÄTT texts, although listed above under "Cross and Host," are doubtful; the *Depositio* of 1517 mentions Host and Cross, the *Elevatio* of XIV and the practically identical one of 1539 mention Host only (it is not evident why Young supplies for one the heading *Elevatio Hostiae* and for the other *Elevatio Crucis et Hostiae*); of the two MEISSEN texts mentioned above under "Cross and Host," the one of 1512 (*Depositio* only) is given by Young the heading *Depositio Crucis et Hostiae*, but contains mention of the cross only; the text of the *Agenda Numburgense*, which Young alludes to as a similar text, mentions also the cross only; the slightly later Meissen use of 1520 mentions both symbols in both *Depositio* and *Elevatio*; for doubt as to the earliest STRASSBURG text, see above under "Host only."

¹⁷ "Deinde hostiis ecclesie diligenter seratis, omnibusque laicis exclusis, diaconi et subdiaconi et acoliti cum candelis et incenso pergant illuc ubi post salutationem crucem reposuerunt, et inde leuantes eam portent ad locum ubi sepulchrum parare uoluerint, ibique super scamna ponatur et thurificetur et diligenter linteamine et desuper pallio cooperiatur; sed interim dum crucem leuant et de loco ad locum portant, decantent silenter ista Responsoria: *Jerusalem luge, Ecce uidimus, Plange quasi, Recessit pastor, Ecce quomodo*. Nouissime corpus domini in unam ualde mundam pixidem mittant, sigilloque uel clauī ecclesie sigillent atque subter linteamen et pallium ad pectus sancte crucis collocetur, et dicant R. *Sepulto domino*. A. *In pace*. A. *Caro mea*. Hiis ita peractis et custodibus ordinatis qui hoc sacratissimum corpus custodiant cum psalmis et ceteris oracionibus ipse clerus antequam redeat dicat A. *Adoramus*, v. *Omnis terra*, oracionem *Respice quesumus*."

An examination of this classified summary shows a number of facts or probabilities of some interest. It shows for England no case of the burial of the Host only. The earlier practice there was the burial of the cross only, and this was generally replaced later by the burial of cross and Host, probably through the influence of the important and widespread use of Sarum. The summary reveals how few the texts from Italy are, where the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, as well as the *Visitatio*, seem to have been rare. The burial of the Host only is the usage in all the Italian texts, except Aquileia, which was probably under South German influence.¹⁸ For France this summary shows all three usages, the burial of the cross only being slightly more frequent than the other two. For Germany, where by far the largest number of texts has been found, all three usages are shown, the burial of the cross only being found most frequently. The opinion has been expressed that the burial of the Host, either alone or with the cross, was not known in North Germany,¹⁹ and indeed the three northernmost places in the classified summary, Lübeck, Havelberg, and Magdeburg, show the burial of the cross only.²⁰ Slightly farther south, however, at Halle, Fritzlar and Essen, the Host is used. The summary shows under "burial of cross only" an especially large number of texts from Southern Bavaria or adjacent parts of Austria. Most of these are practically identical in responsories and rubrics and form a well-defined South Bavarian type, in which the *Imago Crucifixi* is buried just after communion and a stone is placed on the sepulchre (*Deinde lapis supponatur*). On Easter before Matins the senior clergy arise secretly (*clam surgunt*) and raise the *Imago* from the sepulchre and in conclusion give each other the Kiss of Peace (*mutua caritate se invicem osculantes*).²¹

The meaning of this *Imago crucifixi*,²² found thus frequently in South Bavaria and occasionally elsewhere, is discussed by Young,²³ who considers the term far from clear. He thinks it usually means merely the crucifix,

¹⁸ There are various indications of South German influence in Northeast Italy. The two Cividale texts and the two Aquileia texts of the *Visitatio* which are given or described by Lange are of the second type (Lange's "Zweite Fassung") which is particularly characteristic of South Germany. One Cividale *Visitatio* has verse in the "Vagantenzeile," a German verse-form. The German *Ordinarium Benedictinum*, listed above as probably of Hirsau, found its way very early to Aquileia and may well have been used there.

¹⁹ For this opinion see *Decreta authentica Congr. S. Rituum*, IV, 423, and an article on *Heilige Gräber in der Karwoche* in the *Mainzer Katholik* (1860), 576-7.

²⁰ It seems to have been true also of Paderborn and vicinity, as indicated by the following from an early Paderborn charter, quoted by Ducange, *Glossarium*, under "Sepultura Crucifixi": "Hae autem parochiae omnia jura parochialia habebunt, nisi quod . . . in Parasceve sepulturam Crucifixi non faciant."

²¹ A good example of this type is Chiemsee, published by Young in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assc.* XXV, 343, 351.

²² In a Rheinau *Processionale* of 1573 the term *Imago Salvatoris* is used (Lange, p. 68).

²³ P. 81, n. 38.

There has been preserved an ancient Scandinavian sepulchre in which is a wooden image of Christ "with legges stretcht out at length and handes upon his body spreade."²⁸ There was a 'statua Christi' in the sepulchre at Freising, according to a ritual of 1673.²⁹ To return to the meaning of the term *Imago Crucifixi*, it is expressly stated in the new and interesting text of Prüfening³⁰ that it was the image detached from the cross ("ymaginem crucifixi coram populo de cruce deponunt"). This was also the case at Barking, England, as shown by this rubric of the *Depositio*: "deferant Crucem ad magnum altare, ibique in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi, de ligno deponentes Ymaginem vulnera Crucifixi uino abluant et aqua."³¹ The plainly indicated meaning in these two cases, together with the evidence that the burial of such an unattached image was in use, seems to me to establish a strong probability that the *Imago Crucifixi* meant usually, if not always, an image of Christ not attached to a cross.³²

The above mentioned Prüfening version throws some light also upon the term *Imago resurrectionis*, the meaning of which in the Meissen *Breviarius* of 1520 was puzzling to Young. At Prüfening the *custos* places the *Ymago dominice resurrectionis* in the sepulchre Easter morning just before the beginning of the *Elevatio*. This *Imago* was most probably an image of Christ bearing in his hand a Resurrection cross with a banner attached to it. At Freising, in a ritual of 1673, an *Imago Christi resurgentis cum vexillo* was to replace the Host after the *Elevatio*, if the sepulchre could not be removed at once.³³ At Hereford, in the course of the *Elevatio*, a banner was attached to the cross that had just been raised from the sepulchre.³⁴ At Prüfening, with Resurrection responsories and due honor, the *Imago resurrectionis* and the Host were raised from the sepulchre, while the *Imago crucifixi* was left in it, to be quietly removed by the *custos* after the ceremony and returned to its accustomed place. It is quite

²⁸ See Fig. 17.

²⁹ See p. 46.

³⁰ See Appendix.

³¹ Young, p. 119.

³² Such an image may be probably although not necessarily inferred from this rubric of an unpublished Augsburg *Elevatio* (Cod. lat. 4325 of Munich Staatsbibl.): "thurificatoque sacramento et imagine, reditur, portantibus quattuor imaginem et domino abbate sacramentum." In the *Depositio* of the Meissen *Breviarius* of 1520 (Young, p. 107) the *corpus* (here not the Host) borne upon a bier may have been such an image. For Klosterneuburg however Pfeiffer is surely wrong in interpreting the *corpus dominicum* as "eine plastische Darstellung des Heilandes in Holz" (*Jahrb. d. Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, I, 20). The *Elevatio* rubric "*corpus dominicum et crucem de sepulchro tollant*" means undoubtedly the usual Host and cross or crucifix.

³³ See p. 46 of this study. For another *Imago resurrectionis cum vexillo suo*, see Halle *Elevatio* in Appendix.

³⁴ Young, p. 112.

probable that the procedure at Meissen was similar to this, although the less detailed rubrics do not make it clear.

It is noteworthy that for the period up to the sixteenth century there are comparatively few known cases in which the Host alone was buried on Good Friday, not more than three or four of which we are quite certain.³⁵ Among the numerous versions of the *Depositio* in manuscripts of the fifteenth century, I have noted only one, that of Parma, which has the burial of the Host only. These facts seem to indicate that, although cross and Host werē often buried, the Host alone was usually considered not to be a suitable symbol for the Entombment ceremony. The *Depositio* of a Zürich *Ordo* of 1260 speaks very plainly against its use:

Contra omnem rationem est, quod in quibusdam ecclesiis Eucharistia in huiusmodi archa sepulchrum repraesentante poni consuevit et claudi. Ibi enim Eucharistia, que est uerum et uiuum corpus Christi, ipsum Christi corpus mortuum repraesentat, quod est indecens penitus et absurdum.³⁶

For the *Elevatio* the Host, the symbol of the living Christ, was more suitable. At Soissons, Laon, and St. Quentin the Host was put in the sepulchre on Easter morning without responsories and evidently not as a symbolic entombment but simply for use in the following *Elevatio*. At Moosburg and at Treves the Eucharist, not from the sepulchre but from the altar, was borne in the *Elevatio* procession but not in the *Depositio*.³⁷ Of the cases listed in the classified summary as "doubtful or irregular," five mention the Host, usually with the cross, in the *Elevatio* but only the cross in the *Depositio*,³⁸ while in no case is the reverse found.³⁹ This would seem to be more than an accident and to indicate at least that the Host in these cases was not featured in the *Depositio*. It may even be that at times the Host was not put in the sepulchre with the cross on Friday, but, like the *Imago resurrectionis* at Prüfening, placed there just before the *Elevatio*. This would not only fit in with any feeling of the inappropriateness of the use of the Host in the Entombment ceremony, but would also provide for keeping the Host in greater security.

There are various indications that the security of the Host during this period was a matter of especial concern. The locking and sealing of the sepulchre is not infrequently mentioned. At Essen the Host was securely

³⁵ Three certain ones are Augsburg (X), St. Blasien (XIV) and Parma (XV). St. Gall (XI) has no *Depositio*, Strassburg (XIII) mentions cross only, for Strassburg (XIV) Martene publishes no *Depositio*, nor does Dankó for the Budapest MS (XIV) or Coussemaker for Origny (XIII) at Soissons, Laon, and St. Quentin the Host was placed in the sepulchre on Easter morning, for use in the *Elevatio*.

³⁶ For the entire *Depositio* and *Elevatio* see Appendix.

³⁷ For both, see Appendix.

³⁸ These are York, Barking, Diessen, Regensburg, Würzburg.

³⁹ However at St. Emmeran, Regensburg, the Host, after the *Depositio*, is secretly returned to the tabernacle and does not reappear in the *Elevatio*, Young, p. 110.

locked in the sepulchre coffer, while the cross was laid upon it.⁴⁰ In the Augsburg ritual of 1487 there is a note that the Host is to be left these three days in the sepulchre only in case a strong guard is possible, otherwise it is to be borne back reverently "in suum solitum reseruatorium ubi bene clausum conseruetur,"⁴¹ and in the use of St. Emmeran the Host was not left at the sepulchre, but was returned to the *sacrarium*, probably for greater safety. In the Bamberg *Depositio* of 1587 the sepulchre was to contain "unam archam, vel quid simile, quod claudi et obserari, atque in eo venerabile Sacramentum reponi, . . . possit," and another rubric indicates that the sepulchre lock was especially for the protection of the Host: "et sera diligenter muniat sepulchrum, ne Christi Corpus, per impios aut haereticos vel Iudaeos inde auferri, vel alia queuis contaminatio fieri queat."⁴² In the Salzburg ritual of 1686 the Host is taken from the ostensory over the sepulchre in the evening and kept in safety during the night in the tabernacle, being placed again over the sepulchre in the morning.⁴³

The classified summary shows the *Depositio* usually just after communion, or just after Vespers, but shows seven or eight cases where it comes just after the *Adoratio*. In these cases the cross only was buried, the reserved Sacrament not having been brought yet from the *repositor*.⁴⁴ The *Elevatio* was almost always before Matins on Easter morning. Matins being very early, the *Elevatio* took place usually about midnight.⁴⁵ The only other position of the *Elevatio* is just after Matins, before the *Te Deum*. This position, although rare, is found in various countries, in the eleventh-century St. Gall *Breviarium*, at Soissons and St. Quentin, at Lübeck, in the Hungarian uses of Erlau and Grau, and at Barking, England. Young conjectures, without wholly convincing reasons, that it may have been the original position of the *Elevatio*.⁴⁶ The fifteenth-century ordinal of the Nunnery of Barking mentions that the venerable Abbess Katherine of Sutton changed the ceremony there from before Matins to after Matins,

⁴⁰ See Appendix.

⁴¹ Milchsack, p. 127.

⁴² Young, p. 115. In a London church in 1554 the crucifix and pyx were missing from the sepulchre, when the priests came for the *Elevatio*, Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 24.

⁴³ Young, p. 36.

⁴⁴ The sixteenth-century rite of Durham was an exception, possibly also Barking.

⁴⁵ John of Avranches says "decima hora"; a St. Gall *Directorium*, Lange, p. 69, has "pulsantur matutine circa undecimam," and the Bamberg *Agende* of 1587 gives the same hour; a Bamberg *Directorium* (Appendix) has "hora duodecima"; Molanus, in his *De Historia SS. Imaginum et Picturarum*, Lib. IV, Cap. XVIII, has "post medium noctis"; in the *Catechism* of Frederic Nausea (Thiers, *Trailé*, II, 686) it was "après minuit vers le point au jour"; at Durham, "between three and four of the clocke in the morninge"; at Laon, according to Bellotte, it was "hora vero quarta," Young, p. 53. The present day ceremony in Germany and Austria is at Vespers on Holy Saturday.

⁴⁶ Young, p. 31.

"quoniam populorum concursus temporibus illis videbatur deuocione frigessere."⁴⁷

The ceremony of the *Elevatio* was at first very simple and done privately, with the exclusion of the laity, and this practice was continued in many places throughout the middle ages, even with a much enlarged ceremony. There was a synodal decree of Worms of the year 1316 that the ceremony should take place before the admission of the public owing to the fact that great crowds would otherwise throng the church, there being a belief that any one who saw the image raised would escape death that year, "opinantes erronee, quod si viderent crucifixi imaginem sustolli, evaderent hoc anno inevitabilem mortis horam."⁴⁸ A more probable reason, however, for the private nature of the ceremony, namely, to suggest the fact that Christ arose before the Maries, or disciples, or others came to the tomb, is found expressed in a Hungarian ordinal, "Sicut enim certum est Christum antequam Mulieres et Discipuli ad sepulchrum venirent resurrexisse, ita convenit hanc ceremoniam peragi priusquam populus in templum conveniat."⁴⁹

The *Elevatio* seems occasionally to have conflicted with the vigil of Easter eve, a very early custom mentioned by several of the church fathers.⁵⁰ As late as the fifteenth century an *Ordo* of Moosburg, Bavaria, shows the custom still observed and interfering with the desired exclusion of the laity from the *Elevatio*. The *Ordo* states: "et excludantur layci, si commodum fieri potest, nam nobiscum viri et mulieres in ecclesia sacras vigiliis observant et veniente tempore matutinarum clerici eos sine scandalo repellere nequeunt propter antiquam consuetudinem" . . .⁵¹

In the development of the *Elevatio* the most interesting enlargement, especially from the dramatic point of view, was the introduction into it of the theme of the Descent into Hell by means of the antiphon, *Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini portae externales, et introibit rex glorie*, accompanied by three blows with the cross upon the door, and the query from within, *Quis est iste rex glorie* and the response *Dominus fortis et potens, dominus potens in prelio*. The liturgical ceremony developed thus into dramatic dialogue, at times even with a suggestion of real impersonation and mimesis, as in the Augsburg rubric, "Leuita iunior vel alius in figura diaboli grossa voce querat, *Quis est iste rex glorie?*"⁵² All of

⁴⁷ Young, p. 120.

⁴⁸ Milchsack, p. 119; Young, p. 34.

⁴⁹ Young, p. 33, *Zt. f. d. Altertum*, XLI, 87.

⁵⁰ Feasey, *Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 240.

⁵¹ For the complete *Elevatio* and *Deposito*, see Appendix.

⁵² Milchsack, p. 128. A good study of this subject, with valuable texts, is Karl Young's "Harrowing of Hell," published in the *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, P. II, 889 f.

these dramatico-liturgical versions of the *Elevatio* which have thus far come to light are comparatively late, much later than the first occurrence of the same scene in the non-liturgical religious drama of the vernacular. The interesting question thus presents itself as to whether we have here, as Wilhelm Meyer⁵³ thinks, a case of the Latin liturgico-dramatic office being based upon the vernacular drama, which would be a reversal of the usual process, or whether this dramatic office developed much earlier than the known versions and was the basis of the scene in the vernacular. Creizenach holds this latter view and cites quite convincing evidence, in the vision of Wilbirgis,⁵⁴ that the scene was presented in the churches as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. The earliest known version is that of Barking, England, from the period 1363–1376.⁵⁵ Aside from this version and the less dramatic ones of Hereford and Dublin, it has been found only in South Germany. It was introduced at Augsburg by Bishop Peter in 1453,⁵⁶ and may well have spread from here to the neighboring Würzburg and Bamberg, where it is found somewhat later. It was in use, earlier than at Augsburg but in less dramatic form, at St. Gall, Mainz, and Regensburg.⁵⁷

Another way in which dramatic character was occasionally given to the *Elevatio* was to combine with it the dialogue of the *Visitatio*. This use of the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue, with its *Non est hic, surrexit*, before the buried symbol or symbols have been raised from the sepulchre, is distinctly illogical. It has been found only in two very limited regions, though at widely separated times, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the

⁵³ *Fragmenta Burana*, 64.

⁵⁴ *Das neuere Drama*, 2nd ed., I, 52.

⁵⁵ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 924 f., also *Dram. Assc.* 120.

⁵⁶ In Placidus Braun's *Gesch. der Bischöfe von Augsburg*, 1814, III, 61, we read, among things done by Bishop Peter, "Schon im Jahre 1453 hatte er folgende fromme Stiftungen gemacht . . . (4) Verordnete er die feyerliche ProzeSSION bey der Auferstehung Christi, schrieb alle zu beobachtenden Ceremonien und Riten vor, sorgte für die Präsenzgelde und ertheilte den dabey Gegenwärtigen einen Ablass. (5) Legte er bey dem Kapital 48 lb. nieder zu Stipendien für die Scholaren, welche zu Ehren des Leidens und Todes unseres Heilandes bey dem heiligen Grabe vom Charfreytage bis zum Osterfeste beständig das Psalterium beten sollten."

⁵⁷ Würzburg *Agenda* of 1564, Milchsack, p. 135; Bamberg *Agenda* of 1587, *Zt. f. d. Altertum*, XXIX, 249, Young, p. 116. For St. Gall and Regensburg, see Young, p. 90 and p. 126, for Mainz, Young, *Wisc. Acad.*, XVI, P. II, 914. In De Moleon's *Voyages Liturgiques* there is a sort of supplement entitled "Questions sur la Liturgie de l'Église d'Orient, proposées 1704 par le Sieur de Moleon à M. Philippe Guailan, prêtre Syrien, etc.," in which occurs (pp. 481–2): "Y-a-t-il quelque chose de singulier le jour de Pâques? R.-Oui, si le Patriarche y est, tous sont dehors l'Église, & le Patriarche frappe à la porte avec le bâton de la Croix; & le Diacre audehors de l'Église repond (comme en France le Dimanche des Rameaux) trois fois, *Quis est iste &c, l'Attolite portas*: & tout le peuple entre en chantant *Christos anesti*."

neighboring places of Soissons, Laon, and St. Quentin, in the sixteenth century in the neighboring places of Constance, Rheinau, and St. Gall.⁵⁸

In the later middle ages there was a remarkable development of the feast of Corpus Christi.⁵⁹ As this feast came to be observed with ever greater processional pomp, there was a growing fondness for elaborate Eucharistic processions on other occasions also. Such developed in various places, especially in large churches, in connection with the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The Sacrament borne was usually the Host that was buried, and hence it was borne *to* the sepulchre on Friday and *from* it on Easter Sunday. However, in the *Elevatio* of Moosburg and of Treves, where the cross only was buried, the Eucharist was taken from the altar and borne to the Sepulchre and then back again.⁶⁰ The laity was not excluded from these more elaborate ceremonies.

In keeping with this increasing glorification of the Eucharist was the occasional practice of exposing the Host a short time for adoration in the course of the *Elevatio*. A Strassburg *Ordinarius* has in its *Elevatio* the following:

Tunc sacerdos accipiat Corpus Christi de pyxide et levans in altum ostendat illud populo coram sepulchro, post ostensionem et adorationem populi, reponat in pyxidem et sic tollentes inde Corpus Domini, recedunt cum antiphona *Cum Rex glorie* . . . Cum autem pervenerint in chorum cum Corpore Domini, sacerdos stet in altari et ostendat clero et populo Corpus Christi, levando ipsum sicut solet levare in missa; deinde reponat in pyxidem Corpus Christi et portet ad altare S. Laurentii, et ibidem similiter ostendat.⁶¹

An Augsburg ritual of 1487 has, at the end of the *Elevatio*: "Postea dominus episcopus vel officiator monstret sacramentum in capsula, vel, si super hoc habeatur licentia, in monstrantia, se vertendo ad populum,"⁶² indicat-

⁵⁸ For Soissons and Laon, see Young, p. 46 and p. 49, for St. Quentin, Thiers, *Traité*, II, 691 (the date of the St. Quentin version, not given by Thiers, is presumably about the same as that of Soissons and Laon), for Constance, Rheinau, and St. Gall, Lange, pp. 47, 68, and 69. Young's statement (p. 31, n. 10) that the Constance *Agenda* of 1570 has no *Elevatio* is not quite correct, since Lange's text is a combined *Elevatio-Visitatio*. This is shown a little more clearly by the introductory rubric of the *Benedictionale* of 1597: "Ad matutinum ante compulsionem fit processio ad tollendum venerabile sacramentum in sepulchro positum, cum luminibus, thuribulo, et aqua benedicta." (Copy of *Benedictionale* in the British Museum, p. 183).

⁵⁹ Established by Urban IV in 1264, its real development did not begin until Urban's bull was confirmed by Clement V in 1311.

⁶⁰ See Appendix for Moosburg and Treves. In the *Depositio* of the fifteenth century version of Prüfening (Appendix), the *Imago crucifixi* is placed in the sepulchre at the close of the *Adoratio* and quite without ceremony; the real *Depositio* comes after Mass and concerns itself with the burial of the Host.

⁶¹ Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXV. If Martene is correct in assigning this *Ordinarius* to the year 1364, it is a comparatively early occurrence in this practice. A Strassburg *Agenda* of 1590 has "ostenso Sacramento in altari sicut fit in Missa," (Young, p. 42).

⁶² Milchsack, p. 129.

ing the need of special permission for showing the Host in a monstrance, i.e. a receptacle especially used for its exposition. In the Bayeux Missal of 1642, as described by Thiers, the bishop or celebrant, after the *Elevatio*, holds the ciborium containing the Sacrament in his hands while giving the benediction; afterwards he takes the Host from the ciborium and exposes it for a short time to the faithful for veneration.⁶³

In the treatise of Jean Baptiste Thiers, *Traité de l'Exposition du St. Sacrament de l'Autel*, which appeared in Paris in 1679 and to which several references have already been made, the distinct purpose of the two chapters dealing with Passiontide and Easter was to combat a tendency to expose the Sacrament during this period. The author puts as chapter headings the theses he wishes to prove: "Chapitre XX. Qu'on ne doit exposer la sainte Eucharistie en évidence le Jeudy, le Vendredy, ny le Samedy Saint . . ." "Chapitre XXI, Que le saint Sacrement ne doit point estre exposé en évidence ny sur les Autels, ni dans les Processions le jour de Pasques, si ce n'est peut-estre pour un moment." From these last words it appears that he does not disapprove of the above-mentioned practice of a brief exposition at the end of the Resurrection ceremony but he condemns severely the exposition of the Host during the preceding days of grief and gloom. Thiers wrote chiefly of France and his condemnation of the usage furnishes indirect evidence of a tendency to expose the Host on these days in French churches. The same usage arose in the sixteenth century in Germany and took such firm root that it continues there to the present day. Its introduction has been brought into connection with the Reformation and explained as due to a desire to strengthen the faith in the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Its origin as given by the Congregation of Sacred Rites is as follows:

Usque ad saeculum decimum quintum SS. Sacramentum in Sepulchro inclusum fidelium adorationi expositum est. Cum autem tempore reformationis haeretici contra realem et essentialem praesentiam Christi in SS. Eucharistia absconditi vehementer praedicarent, eamque exprobrarent et omnino negarent, ac diem Parasceves pro sua confessione festum solemnissimum totius anni eleverent, factum est, ut, ad fideles in confessione verae fidei in Christum in SS. Sacramento vere, realiter et substantialiter praesentem conservandos et confirmandos et ad opponendam luthericae solemnitati die Parasceves aliam catholicam festivitatem, SS. Sacramentum in Sepulchro non amplius includeretur, sed super Sepulchrum sive in calice sive in ostensorio velato Feria VI in Parasceve adorationi palam exponeretur.⁶⁴

This "Exposition rite" was introduced into Bavaria in 1577 but was not prescribed and seems not to have come into general use until the seventeenth century. The Congregation of Sacred Rites, in its discussion of the subject, gives a list of rituals from the middle of the seventeenth to

⁶³ Thiers, II, p. 692; practically the same ceremonies in the older Bayeux *Ordinarius*, used by Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXV, p. 172.

⁶⁴ *Decreta authentica*, IV, 433.

the nineteenth century that contain it, and publishes the text from one, a Salzburg ritual of 1686.⁶⁵ Another ritual of the list, and one which I have examined, is a Freising ritual of 1673. Under the heading "*Sepulchrum Christi Domini Feria VI Majoris Hebdomedae et Vespertina per plateas processio*," is a full description of the sepulchre, the preparation of the Host in the ostensory, or monstrance, the procession bearing it to the sepulchre, then "*cum ad locum sepulchri ventum fuerit, remoto velo, Monstrantia cum sanctissima Hostia in destinatum locum, corporali mundo stratum, reverenter per manus assistentis Diaconi deponitur, ad publicum populi conspectum et adorationem.*" The *Ritual* contains the *Elevatio* but has no *Visitatio Sepulchri*. As soon as the Host has been borne away, the sepulchre is to be quietly removed, if not too heavy, "*quod si ob molem suam hac nocte sancta sepulchrum transferri aut amoveri non possit, tum vel pannis obtegatur, vel eo loco, ubi sacra Hostia pro adoratione fuit exposita, Imago Christi resurgentis cum vexillo ponatur, amota tamen statua Christi in sepulchro, extinctis luminibus.*"⁶⁶

The sepulchres, or "*heilige Gräber*," therefore, as they are at present set up at Passiontide in many Catholic churches of Germany and Austria, differ from those of the middle ages in having the Eucharist, in a pyx or a veiled monstrance, exposed for adoration throughout the period. The gloom of this period has been from the earliest times and still is symbolically expressed by stripping all the altars after mass on Maundy Thursday, removing altar cloths, antependia, candles, crucifix, reliquaries, in fact all adornment, and extinguishing all candles except before the reserved Sacrament and later about the sepulchre. There is an obvious incongruity between this symbolic expression of grief and the exposition of the Host, always a token of joy. This objectionable contrast is commented upon by most of the modern German writers on the subject,⁶⁷ who do not however recommend, as Thiers did, the abolishing of the exposition, but advise reducing the contrast to a minimum by using a chapel or side altar for the sepulchre, instead of the high altar. The Congregation of Sacred Rites, in answer to a question some years ago as to whether these German and Austrian sepulchres were to be condemned or tolerated, gave a lengthy historical review of the custom and decided that, in view of its antiquity and the difficulty of abolishing a long established custom to which the people cling, the sepulchres were to be tolerated in these dioceses.

2. *Visitatio Sepulchri*

The *Visitatio Sepulchri*, commemorating the visit of the Maries to the empty tomb, represented thus in the liturgy the moment about which in a

⁶⁵ *Decreta authentica*, IV, 429, reprinted in Young, pp. 35 f.

⁶⁶ *Rituale Frisingense* (Munich, 1673), 582.

⁶⁷ Besides those in works of reference, I have noted the following articles: *Die heiligen Gräber in der Charwoche* by an unnamed author in the *Mainzer Katholik* (1860), 568 f.; *Die*

previous chapter our study of the sepulchre in Christian art was centered. In the church ritual it followed naturally but by no means inevitably the ceremonies of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. When all three occurred the *Visitatio* was connected with the earlier two, not only by taking place at the same sepulchre, but also by using as evidence of the Resurrection the linen cloths with which the cross or Host had been wrapt, these being left in the sepulchre after the *Elevatio*.⁶⁸

Owing to the fact that the *Visitatio* is usually dramatic in form⁶⁹ and that its beginnings mark the very birth of liturgic drama, it has been more carefully studied than the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* and need not be treated here at length. Its origin in the well-known *Quem quaeritis* trope of the Introit of Easter Mass, in the late ninth or the tenth century, its early change to its usual position after Matins, before the *Te Deum*, its textual growth and dramatic development, are known in large outline to all interested in the liturgic drama.

Young discusses the inter-relations of the offices at the sepulchre, and presents convincing reasons for believing that the *Visitatio* developed somewhat later than the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, reasons based upon differences in liturgical content and tone and in degree of dramatic development.⁷⁰ Although all three ceremonies were extra-liturgical, yet the *Visitatio* seems in various ways to have been considered less a part of the regular liturgy than the other two. Quite frequently, and even as early as John of Avranches of the eleventh-century, its occurrence after Matins is mentioned, without the text being given. At Besançon there is mention of an "interval" in which it took place.⁷¹ The words of Durandus in

heiligen Gräber in der Karwoche by an unnamed author in *Kirschenschmuck* (1862), Heft 5; *Heilige Grabkapellen oder Nachbildungen des Grabes des Erlösers, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Tyrol*, by Th. H. in *Kunstfreund* (1899) 81 f.; *Das heilige Grab in der Karwoche* by Karl Atz in *Kunstfreund* (1906), 40-41.

⁶⁸ Probably this was usually done, although it is only occasionally specifically mentioned; for two instances, see pp. 69-70.

⁶⁹ Not infrequently however it seems to have consisted merely of a procession to the sepulchre with the singing of one or more antiphons. One example is in the *Regensburg Obsequiale* of 1492 (Young, p. 126), and to this I could add several others from my notes.

⁷⁰ Young, pp. 128-9.

⁷¹ Bibl. de la Ville de Besançon, MS 103. *Ordinarium Bisuntinum* fol. 56^r: "Responsorium *Dum transisset*. Antequam dicatur *Te deum*, fit quoddam intervallum in aliquibus ecclesiis et fiunt tres Marie que cantant *Quis revolvat*, Postea dicitur *Te deum laudamus*." Another unpublished instance of its mention without text is the following from an *Ordinarium* of the Church of the Holy Virgin, Maastricht (MS 71 A 13, Royal Library at the Hague), fol. 43^v: "(*Dum transisset*) Quibus finitis persone constitute et ordinate per cantorem facient visitationem sepulchri sicut consuetum est in ecclesia. Et post visitationem peregrini recipient sudarium a Maria Magdalena et ante chorum stantes et in altum leuantes ostendent eum populo in signum resurrectionis Christi, Tunc cantor incipiet alta voce vel in organis *Te deum laudamus*."

speaking of the *Visitatio*, "Si qui autem habent versus de hac representatione compositos, licet non authenticos non improbamus,"⁷² indicate a distinction between authentic and non-authentic elements, doubtless between simple prose texts predominantly liturgical in character, and more elaborate texts with freely composed verses. And in several manuscripts there are directions or provisions for either simple or elaborate texts.⁷³ Occasionally others than the clergy took part in the *Visitatio*. This is specifically provided for in the following Augsburg rubric: "Permititur tamen aliis, qui forsan huiusmodi personas non habent, ut cum aliis personis et etiam moribus honestis et discretis, huiusmodi visitationem sepulchri exequantur."⁷⁴ According to a Cologne *Diurnale* of 1508 the *Maries* might be represented by women.⁷⁵

Mention has been made of the illogical use, in a few places, of the *Visitatio* dialogue in the *Elevatio*. In a few other places the *Visitatio* comes immediately after the *Elevatio* without being thus combined with it. Both come before Matins in the *Liber Sacerdotalis* of Castellani,⁷⁶ as they do apparently also in the *Ordinarium* of Parma,⁷⁷ although here the

⁷² *Rationale*, Ed. of 1486, fol. CCI^v.

⁷³ A Nürnberg *Antiphonarium* gives a full version and then adds a simple one, "alius ordo minor" (*Zl. f. d. Alt.* 28, pp. 123 f.). A Herzogenberg MS directs the simple form of the *antiphonarium* to be used, "cum non habetur ludus," the *ludus* being probably very elaborate like that of the neighboring Klosterneuburg. Directions for simplifying the *Elevatio* are found in connection with the elaborate version of the Bamberg *Agenda* of 1587: "Et haec quoque Dominicae Resurrectionis commemoratio celebrioribus servit Ecclesiis. Unde aliarum Ecclesiarum, utpote minorum et ruralium Rectores et Parochi, ex ordine hic descripto, aliquid saltem desumere possunt, quod pro loci et personarum illic convenientium qualitate commodum fore iudicaverint," *Zl. f. d. Alt.*, 29, p. 247.

⁷⁴ Milchsack, p. 129. The prank of Till Eulenspiegel may be mentioned in which he and the priest's housekeeper and some peasants took part in a *Visitatio*, see p. 65.

⁷⁵ Dankó, *Feier des Osterfestes*, p. 45: "Cantato in matutino responsorio *Dum transisset*, tunc post *Gloria patri* et ejus repetitionem, sequitur visitatio sepulchri hac die tantum et hoc modo. Mulieres vel loco mulierum Pastor cum suo capellano sive vicario una cum campanario et aliis procedentes ad sepulchrum et submissa voce cantant responsorium *Dum transisset* usque ad versum. Deinde ante sepulchrum cantant eadem mulieres sive alii loco mulierum *Quis revolvit*. Angeli in sepulchro respondent *Quem quaeritis*. Respondent mulieres *Jesum Nazarenum*. Angeli *Non est hic*. Idem angeli debent hic aperire sepulchrum cantando *Venite et videte*. Tunc angeli ostendentes sudarium cantant *Surrexit*. Respondit chorus *Qui pro nobis*. Sequitur immediate solemniter *Te Deum laudamus*."

⁷⁶ Young, pp. 61 f. In this book (first edition, Venice, 1523) the anthem *Attollite portas* of the Descent into Hell is used in the beginning of the *Visitatio*. This anthem had long been used in the ritual for the dedication of a church, and was used in certain places in the procession of Palm Sunday, in commemoration of the entry into Jerusalem (Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 4). Its occurrence here in the *Visitatio* does not seem to me to be an amalgamation of the *Descensus ad inferos* with the *Visitatio*, but simply the use of this anthem with the accompanying striking of the church door, already found effective for various processional purposes, to increase here the effectiveness of the processional introduction of the *Visitatio*.

⁷⁷ Young, p. 44.

Elevatio is barely mentioned. This exceptional position of the *Visitatio* before Matins was known to Durandus, who however designates the position between Matins and the following *Te Deum* as "proprius locus"—"eo quod *Te deum laudamus* exprimit horam qua dominus resurrexit."⁷⁸ At Barking, England, both *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* came after Matins.

The ceremony of the *Visitatio* seems to have passed out of use largely in the latter half of the sixteenth century, although there are a few cases of its survival throughout the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. It was practically completely a ceremony of the past to the great liturgical writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. De Moleon says "On a sagement aboli ces sortes de representations, qui ne seroient pas du goût de notre siècle,"⁷⁹ although he knows of its exceptional occurrence in his day at Angers. Martene seems to know of its continued use only at Narbonne.⁸⁰ Grancolas says, "Verum curiositate et risu populi factum est, ut hujusmodi spectaculum ac caeremonia supprimeretur."⁸¹ Eighteenth century texts have been preserved for Cologne, Angers, and St. Marks at Venice. A new late instance of its occurrence, without preservation however of the text, is the rubric "Tertio Responsorio percantato visitatur Sepulchrum ut moris est" in an *Ordinarius* of the church of St. Pharaïlde, Gand, of the year 1741.⁸²

3. The Place of Repose

The Place of Repose, or *reposoir* in which the Sacrament is reserved from Thursday to Friday of Holy Week, has often been given the designation of sepulchre, although evidently quite different from the "true" sepulchre about which the ceremonies that we have been discussing took place.

The present day rubrics of the Roman church provide that for the reservation a suitable place, a *locus aptus*,⁸³ be prepared in some chapel or at some secondary altar and adorned with lights and cloths. This place is entirely distinct and remote from the tabernacle in which the Host for the sick is regularly kept. After Mass on Thursday the Host to be reserved is placed in a chalice covered with a pall and a paten, and borne in procession to the *locus aptus*, where it is deposited in a capsula and kept under lock and key, amid lighted candles, and, if possible, constantly

⁷⁸ *Rationale*, Ed. of 1486, fol. CCI.

⁷⁹ *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 305.

⁸⁰ Lib. IV, Cap. XXV, p. 173.

⁸¹ *Commentarius Historicus in Breviarium Romanum*, Lib. II, Cap. LXXI.

⁸² MS 18127 of Royal Liberty at Brussels, p. 51.

⁸³ "Hodie paretur locus aptus in aliqua capella vel altari ecclesiae et decenter quoad fieri potest ornetur cum velis et luminibus, ubi calix cum Hostia, ut supra reservata, reponatur."

watched. On Friday it is brought in procession back to the high altar, for the Mass of the Presanctified.⁸⁴

Gavantus states that before Pius V (who died in 1571) there was in the missals no mention of the procession in connection with the reservation on Thursday,⁸⁵ thus implying that Pius inaugurated it. The facts, however, seem to be that Pius originated the details of the present ritual but that a procession in connection with the ceremony, at least in some places, is much older. It is found as early as the eleventh century in John of Avranches.⁸⁶ Nevertheless it is true that up to the sixteenth century there is no evidence of special pomp in connection with the reservation of the Host. In the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century, however, there was a change upon which Martene comments as follows: "Obiter hic observabis quam simplices fuerint veterum ritus in recondenda sacra Eucharistia. Nostris vero temporibus pia fidelium devotio ad resarciendas aliquo modo illatas a nefandissimis haereticis sanctissimo Sacramento injurias, cum summa rituum pompa ad praeparatum quam ornate fieri potest oratorium illud deducit: ita variant pro diversis rationibus ecclesiastici ritus."⁸⁷

Thus the processional pomp of the reservation developed in the period in which the ceremonies at the "true" sepulchre were passing out of use. There is undoubtedly a relation between these two facts. Maundy Thursday, sometimes called the Birthday of the Eucharist, was a most fitting time for a great Eucharistic procession. Its development, accompanied as it naturally was with a similarly elaborate procession on Friday to bring the reserved Sacrament back to the altar, may well have made the older sepulchre ceremonies seem unnecessary and undesirable.

There is no evidence and no reason to think that the term "sepulchre" was ever given to the *reposoir* of Thursday's reservation in any place where the "true" sepulchre was set up on Friday. With the disappearance, however, of the true sepulchre, or in places where it had never been in use, there developed a tendency, which still prevails, of assigning to the Place of Repose the name and symbolic significance of the sepulchre. The earliest instance of this that I have found is in the Mozarabic missal of Toledo, as revised by Ximenes at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Here the Place of Repose is called "sepulchrum" and "monumentum," it is locked and sealed, and the Entombment responsory *Sepulto Domino*

⁸⁴ Just as formerly in places where the practice of burying the Host in the *Deposito* existed, so at present in Germany and Austria where the exposition rite prevails, three Hosts are consecrated on Thursday, two being reserved in the *reposoir* and brought to the high altar on Friday, the one still unconsumed after Mass being then used for the sepulchre rite.

⁸⁵ *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Vol. I, Pars, IV, Tit. VIII, (page 419 of Augsburg edition of 1763).

⁸⁶ For some further data about early uses see Young, pp. 11-13.

⁸⁷ Lib. IV, Cap. XXII, p. 98. It will be observed that he gives the same "anti-heretical" explanation that is given for the exposition rite of the "true" sepulchre. See page 45.

is sung.⁸⁸ In many places, especially in Spain, images of Mary and John, of Mary Magdalene, of the soldier guards, etc., came to be placed about the *reposoir* in definite imitation of Christ's tomb. In some dioceses, particularly in Belgium, the popularization of the rite went so far as to make of it a "rite of exposition," similar to the development of the sepulchre ceremony in Germany.⁸⁹

In 1896 the Congregation of Sacred Rites, in answer to a question as to whether the *reposoir* represented the sepulture of Christ or the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, answered "Both one and the other." A little later, in a fuller discussion, the Congregation admitted that from one point of view the designation of Sepulchre was very inappropriate, as on Thursday Christ is not yet dead, that is, his death has not yet been expressed and commemorated by the Good Friday liturgy; in a broader sense, however, they justified the designation, citing earlier mystical interpretations by which the chalice was the *novum sepulchrum*, the Sacrament being the body within it, the pall the stone at its door, and the paten its seal.⁹⁰ On the whole, however, the decrees of the Congregation aim to discourage making of the Place of Repose a Sepulchre. In 1662 a decree was issued against using black in its adornment, in 1844 one against singing the Entombment responsory *Sepulto domino*, and against closing the *reposoir* with a seal, in 1868 one against the use of Entombment statues and images about the *reposoir* (modified in 1896 to admit them where the custom is firmly rooted, which is especially true of Spain).

There is found among modern writers on the subject a rather surprising number of inaccuracies due to a confusion of the true and false sepulchres. Of these the following are a few in well-known and generally reliable works. Dr. Rock states incorrectly that "from the early part of Maundy Thursday till Easter morning, the Blessed Eucharist was kept in what was called 'the sepulchre.'"⁹¹ Guéranger gives as the usual ceremony, found "in most of the churches in the West during the middle ages," the illogical combination of *Elevatio* and *Visitatio*, as found at Soissons, which, as we have seen, was very exceptional, and he speaks of the Sacrament having been kept in the *Chapel of the Sepulchre* from Maundy Thursday until after Matins on Easter Sunday.⁹² Thalhoffer also speaks of the Host reposing in the sepulchre from Maundy Thursday to the time of the *Elevatio*. He is further inaccurate in referring the decree of the Congregation of

⁸⁸ Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXII.

⁸⁹ *Decreta authentica* IV, 427; Wetzter and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, 1st Ed. (under 'Grab, das heilige'); Thiers, *Traité*, II, 680.

⁹⁰ *Decreta authentica* IV, 419 f.

⁹¹ *The Church of Our Fathers*, III, 77 (new ed. 1905).

⁹² *The Liturgical Year, Paschal Time*, I, 138 (Engl. transl., 3rd ed.)

Sacred Rites against the use of black to the true sepulchre instead of the Place of Repose.⁹³ Feasey confuses the two repositories when he says in discussing the true Easter sepulchre: "It would appear that minor altars themselves were occasionally hollowed out as Easter Sepulchres (v. Wilkins, *Concilia*, i 497), and Martene tells us that the Host was to be deposited on Good Friday *in una parte altaris* and the Roman rubric directs: *Hodie paretur locus aptus in aliqua capella ecclesiae, vel altari*."⁹⁴ As we know, the *locus aptus* of the Roman rubric was not the true sepulchre, but the Altar of Repose, the *Hodie* being Thursday. In another place (p. 176) Feasey says: "Then by way of simplification (?) they began to combine this (i.e. the Place of Repose) with the Sepulchre, as did the *Benedictines* of *St. Maur*"; if this means the combining of the two repositories, it is inaccurate, for the *Ceremoniale* of St. Maur, as cited by Thiers, shows that they had only one repository and reserved only one Host, namely for the Mass on Friday, reserving this in a chalice in a small coffer made in the form of a sepulchre.⁹⁵ There is no evidence that the two repositories were ever combined. There is a slight confusion by Chambers, who in discussing the true sepulchre states that the Cistercians and the Carthusians are said never to have adopted it, considering it incompatible with the austerity of their rule.⁹⁶ What they never adopted was a special *reposito*ir or "sepulchrum" for the reservation on Thursday, using instead the regular tabernacle or ciborium.⁹⁷ I have noted no such confusion among the earlier liturgical writers. Gavantus, for example, is well aware of the distinction and says of the Altar of Repose, "*Quamquam improprie Sepulchrum Domini hoc appellatur*" and again "*abusiva a vulgo sepulchrum Christi appellatur*."⁹⁸ Nor was there apparently any real confusion in the minds of the people. There was simply, in many places where there was no "true" Easter sepulchre, a strong tendency to give to the Altar of Repose and its rites the character of a sepulchre with rites suggesting the Entombment.

⁹³ In Wetzer and Welte *Kirchenlexikon* (2nd ed. under "Grab, das heilige"). The *Elevatio* in the present day rite of Germany and Austria is at Vespers on Holy Saturday. The corresponding article in the first edition of the *Kirchenlexikon*, by Fr. X. Schmid, is free from inaccuracies.

⁹⁴ *Holy Week Ceremonial*, 131. Incidentally Martene's "*in una parte altaris*" is apparently from the *Concordia Regularis*, where the Host was not to be deposited on Good Friday but only the cross.

⁹⁵ Thiers, *Traité*, II, 674.

⁹⁶ *Medieval Stage*, II, 19.

⁹⁷ See Thiers, *Traité*, II, 670 and 672. Feasey is similarly inaccurate in saying (p. 177) that the Carthusian *Ordinarium* expressly forbids both *Reposito*ir and Sepulchre.

⁹⁸ *Thesaurus S. Rit.*, Pars. IV, Tit. VIII.

CHAPTER VI

THE LOCATION OF THE SEPULCHRE IN THE CHURCH

A short study of the location of the sepulchre has been published by Anton Glock.¹ Although appearing in *Analecta Germanica*, a volume in honor of such a careful scholar as Hermann Paul, this study is extremely inadequate. It is based upon only a very small part of the available evidence,² and reaches the quite false conclusion that the choir, or chancel, was never the scene of the *Visitatio* when there was a specially prepared sepulchre—"dass Chor und Hochaltar nicht mehr den Aufführungsort, bildeten, sobald man sich der Szenerie eines Grabes bediente." An examination into the facts will not only demonstrate the incorrectness of this conclusion, but will reveal rather interesting differences in the position of the sepulchre in the three countries chiefly concerned, England, France, and Germany.

For England the question of the position of the sepulchre is quite simple and in direct conflict with Glock's conclusion, for the English sepulchre, often an elaborate structure, seems to have been always in the north side of the chancel. This is the position of the permanent stone "Easter Sepulchres" still found in many churches and also of the temporary sepulchres, whenever the preserved records indicate their position at all.³ This uniformity of position does not extend to the continent, although English writers upon the subject seem often to assume that it does.

In France the action of the *Visitatio* is usually in the choir, or chancel, either at a specially prepared sepulchre or about the altar serving as a sepulchre. Examples of the former, the sepulchre set up in the choir, are the following:

Fécamp, 14th century. Postquam omnes adorauerint . . . procedat Abbas et reuestiti ad Crucifixum, atque portant illum in Sepulchrum retro altare ad hoc honorifice preparatum.⁴

¹ *Zur Mysterienbühne.* Published in *Analecta Germanica.* Hermann Paul zum 7. August, 1906, dargebracht.

² Lange's fundamental collection of 223 texts of the *Visitatio*, which appeared in 1887, is not used, Glock basing his study upon the 28 texts of Milchsack's work and a few secondary sources, in all about 40 texts only.

³ Feasey (*Ecclesiastical Review*, 1905, 346), mentions a permanent sepulchre in the form of a walled recess at Brokenhurst, Hants, which is in the south chancel wall. It seems to me doubtful, however, whether this was used as an Easter sepulchre. There were similar recesses for other purposes, such as the piscina, the normal position of which was in a wall to the south of an altar.

⁴ From the *Depositio*, Young's *Harrowing of Hell*, 902.

Mont St. Michel, 14th century. Mulieres . . . venientes per inferiorem partem chori versus altare cantent *Quis revolvat* . . . duo fratres in sepulchrum, qui erunt duo angeli, dicant . . . intrent mulieres in sepulchrum . . . exeant et eant circa altare . . .⁵

Bayeux. Hodie paretur sepulchrum versus cornu altaris sinistrum.⁶

Orleans, 13th century. Cum autem (Marie) venerint in chorum, eant ad monumentum quasi quaerentes et cantantes omnes . . . Quibus respondeat angelus sedens foris ad caput sepulchri . . .⁷

Other examples are Beauvais, Rouen, and Sainte Chapelle (Paris).⁸

In a rather surprising number of cases, even late cases, in France the high altar still continues to represent the sepulchre. The following rubrical excerpts will illustrate this.

Le Mans. Finito vero tercio responsorio veniant illi tres clerici ante magnum altare, quibus semel altare circumeantibus, duo predicti pueri qui juxta sederint dicant submissa voce: *Quem queritis* . . .⁹

Angers, 18th century. Le Samedi-saint vers le soir l'enclos du grand Autel est couvert pardessus et pardevant d'un grand drap blanc, . . . les deux Maires-Chapelains du Choeur (i. e., the angels) . . . vont a l'Autel et y étant cachez derriere le drap, deux Corbeliers (i. e. the Maries) . . . se présentent a l'Autel . . .¹⁰

Sens, 13th century. Clerici uero procedunt . . . donec ueniant ante principale altare. Cantatis uersibus a clericulis, duo clericuli induti albis stantes retro altare respondeant: *Quem queritis*.¹¹

Further examples might be given, as the altar seems to have been the sepulchre at Tours, Chalons s/M, Senlis, Clermont, Amiens, Troyes and Besançon.¹² At Metz and at Narbonne the sepulchre was on the altar, being at Metz a silver capsa, at Narbonne an arrangement of silver books with hangings. Feasey mentions,¹³ without giving his source, that at Tours on Good Friday the Canons recited the Hours standing round a tomb of marble, and he states that this is one of the earliest references to an Easter sepulchre. His statement is repeated by Chambers and others. The texts of the Tours *Visitatio* indicate, however, that the action was about the high altar as sepulchre; in one text we have the typical situation, one angel to the right and one to the left of the high altar, while the Maries are in front of it; in the other text the angels are in front of the tomb of St. Martin (i.e. behind the high altar) while the Maries are near the

⁵ From the *Visitatio*, Lange, 157 f.

⁶ Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII.

⁷ From the *Visitatio*, Lange, 160 f.

⁸ For Beauvais, see Thiers, *Traité*, II 688. For Rouen, Lange, p. 155. For Sainte Chapelle, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, VIII, 471.

⁹ Lange, p. 66.

¹⁰ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques de France*, 97-98.

¹¹ Lange, p. 25.

¹² For the first four see Lange, pp. 24, 25, 33, and 35; for Amiens, Cahier's *Vitraux de Bourges*, Text, 168; for Troyes and Besançon, see Appendix.

¹³ *Holy Week Cereemonial*, 130-131.

door of the choir, i.e. in front of the altar. Feasey's source was doubtless Martene, who gives from an old *antiphonarium* of St. Martins of Tours the following concerning Good Friday: "Hac die post praedicationem, quae hora nona finiri debet, recitantur horae Prima, Tertia, Sexta et Nona submissa voce, non in stallis sedendo, sed prope tumulum marmoreum in medio chori stando."¹⁴ Martene says nothing to indicate an Easter sepulchre and uses the term "tumulum" which, so far as I have observed, was practically never used of the sepulchre of the Easter ceremonies. I feel quite sure, therefore, that this "tomb of marble" was not an Easter sepulchre, but the tomb of some one buried in the church, possibly of St. Martin, about whose tomb of black marble, we learn from De Moleon, certain services were held at times throughout the year.¹⁵

In only a few French churches does the sepulchre appear to have been outside of the choir. This was the case at Laon, where in the *Elevatio* the Sacrament is borne in procession from the sepulchre to the middle of the nave and thence into the choir and to the high altar,¹⁶ also at Coutances,¹⁷ where the procession was to return to the choir at the close of the *Visitatio*. At Soissons, at St. Quentin, and at Vienne, the sepulchre was in a chapel,¹⁸ at Clermont-Ferrand in the "sacrarium"¹⁹ and at Verdun "in subterraneis specubus."²⁰

Glock's conclusion that the specially prepared sepulchre was never in the choir comes nearer being true for Germany than for any other country. Of over fifty German versions of the *Visitatio* in which there is some indication of the location of the sepulchre, there are not more than four or five in which it is in the choir. One of these, that of St. Blasien,²¹ was known to Glock. It has the plain unmistakable rubric "Duo sacerdotes (i.e., the Maries) . . . intrantes chorum, paulatim euntes versus sepulchrum, cantantes *Quis revolvat*." Later, when the angel directs them to go and announce that Christ has risen, there is the rubric "vertent se ad chorum, remanentes super gradum, et cantent *Surrexit dominus*." By ignoring the first of these two rubrics and misinterpreting the second, Glock has quite wrongly located the St. Blasien sepulchre in the nave. 'Super gradum' does not refer, as Glock says, to the steps between nave and

¹⁴ Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII, p. 126, of Antwerp Ed. of 1763-4.

¹⁵ *Voyages Liturgiques*, 121 and 126. The position of St. Martin's tomb behind the high altar does not, to be sure, quite agree with Martene's 'in medio chori stando.'

¹⁶ Thiers, *Traité*, II 690, also Chevalier, *Ordinaires de Laon*, 118.

¹⁷ Lange, p. 160.

¹⁸ Thiers, II *Traité*, 691; for Vienne, De Moleon, *Voy. Liturg.*, 28.

¹⁹ *Dublin Review* (1897), 363.

²⁰ Martene, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus* (appendix), p. 299 of ed. of 1763-4.

²¹ Lange, p. 30, Young, pp. 5-7.

choir, but refers to those between choir and presbytery.²² In either case, however, the sepulchre would not be in the nave, for a Good Friday rubric states that the sepulchre was prepared "super gradum." The following excerpts from the *Visitatio* of the St. Gall Ms. 448 indicate a sepulchre in the choir, or rather in the presbytery near the high altar, representing probably the custom prevailing at Hersfeld and for a time at St. Gall:²³ "Accedentes ante chorum . . . Deinde intrantes chorum accedentes ad sepulchrum. . . Peregrini stantes in medio chori ante primos gradus . . . Interea ascendunt peregrini ad Sepulchrum accipientes sudarium, descendentes ad chorum ostendentes sudarium et cantent: *Cernitis o socii*." The sepulchre was in the choir at Basel and at Fritzlar, or at least in a manuscript formerly in Fritzlar.²⁴ At Bamberg it was in the choir of St. George, the east choir of the double-choired Cathedral of Bamberg.²⁵

The German sepulchre was usually in the nave. Here it was sometimes at or near the Altar of the Holy Cross, which was just in front of the choir midway between the two entrances that usually led from the nave to the choir. The *Depositio* in a Prüfening manuscript has the heading, "De corpore dominico in sarcophago in altari sancte crucis loco dominici sepulchri preparato recondendo."²⁶

In Erlangen and Regensburg (St. Emmeran) and several other places the *altare sancte crucis* was the point of departure to or return from the sepulchre, without the exact location of the sepulchre or its distance from the altar being clear. It seems not to have been far away and was probably somewhere near the middle of the church; the Erlangen *Visitatio* has the rubric "Mulieres revertentes et stantes inter sepulchrum et altare S. Crucis."²⁷ In some places, as Freising, Moosburg and Speyer, the middle

²² In this chapter I have been using "choir" in the wide sense of chancel, "chorus" being often so used in the texts. This would include in the larger churches the choir of the singers and clergy, raised usually one or more steps above the nave, and the presbytery, i. e. the sanctuary of the high altar, which in turn was raised at least one step above the choir. The St. Blasien sepulchre was "super gradum," i. e. in the presbytery, as the sepulchre was generally, if not always, when it was in the chancel at all.

²³ Karl Young has published this *Visitatio* as of St. Gall (*Publ. of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1909, pp. 319 f. and more recently in his *Dram. Assoc.* p. 90). I have published it as of Hersfeld (*Zl. f. d. Alt.*, 1908, pp. 310 f.). The MS seems to have been written in St. Gall and for St. Gall, but during a time, a short time, in which the Hersfeld use was followed at St. Gall. When the Hersfeld use was given up there, and the MS no longer represented the St. Gall use, the *S. Galli* in the title seems to have been crossed out and *Hirsfeldensium* substituted. In a later St. Gall *Visitatio* the procession goes "ad sepulchrum domini in Sacello S. Sebastiani." Lange, p. 69.

²⁴ Now in Cassel (see Appendix). For Basel, see Lange, p. 35.

²⁵ See Appendix.

²⁶ See Appendix.

²⁷ Lange, p. 125. For St. Emmeran, *Zl. f. d. Alt.*, vol. 50, p. 300.

of the church is expressly mentioned as the location of the sepulchre.²⁸ In a few places the sepulchre was in a chapel. In Würzburg and in Treves it was in the crypt.²⁹ In at least the first and third of the Zwickau versions of the *Visitatio* the three Maries go from the choir to the *altare sancte crucis*, from there to the middle of the church and thence to the sepulchre, which was thus clearly not in the choir as Stötzner states.³⁰

The following are further rubrics of interest in connection with the location of the sepulchre in German churches:

Passau. Deinde sepulchro preparato et ordinato sub turri ante altare sancti Petri (*Breviarium*, 1490, fol. 245^v).

Rheinau. "Ingressa Processione in S. Findani sacellum canitur ab angelo primo: *Quem quaeritis*" (Lange, p. 68).

Hildesheim. "... tres sacerdotes ... visitent sepulchrum in parte aquilonari. . . ." (*Journ. Engl. and Ger. Phil.*, VIII, p. 468). This "north part" suggests the English location in the north part of the choir, although this was apparently in the nave, to which they descended ("statim descendatur").

Polling. "... itur processionaliter ad altare apostolorum. Et ibidem peragatur visitatio sepulchri secundum consuetudinem" (*Zl. f. d. All.*, 50, p. 304).

Halle. "... tunc processio exibat ad sepulchrum. . . . Hi stabunt circa baptisterium vel sepulchrum. . . . Tunc mulieres thurificato sepulchro stantes inter sepulchrum et altare sancte crucis" (*Zl. f. d. All.*, 55, p. 56).

Treves. "... egrediatur processio ante tumbam sancti Symeonis" (*Journ. Engl. and Ger. Philol.*, VIII, 470).

Zürich. (anno 1260) "... interim canonicus (i. e. the angel) ... per hostium altaris sancte Marie in choro transiens ponit se super sedem ad dextrum latus altaris sanctorum martyrum. . . . clerus processionaliter descendit per hostium cancellorum stans inter et ante altaria Karoli et Marie Magdalene. . . . duo de canonicis. . . . representaturi mulieres Marias. . . . progrediantur ad altare martyrum et stantes quasi in opposito angeli. . . ." (See Appendix.)

Magdeburg. "... parabunt eciam ymaginarium sepulchrum domini ante altare sancti Laurencii. . . ." (See Appendix.) This rubric is from the *Depositio*."

Meissen. "Fitque processio ex choro. . . . usque ad locum ubi Sepulchrum paratum est in Capella Simonis et Iude." (Young, *Dram. Assoc.*, p. 107).

Essen. "Deinde fit processio ad sepulchrum. . . . et apud altare sancti Petri per colatram versus ianuam funerum ascenditur superius ad sepulchrum, quod ante altare sancti Michaelis preparatum erit." (*Liber ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche*, Franz Arens, 1908, p. 57; reprinted in Appendix.)

Constance, Freiburg, Strassburg. "Constantiae in ecclesia cathedrali vidi ad hoc editum ac sculptum ex lapide monumentum in sacello S. Blasii, ut *Friburgi Brisgoiae* in maiori ecclesia, *Argentorati* autem in fornice subtus ecclesiam." (Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, II, III, p. 858.)

²⁸ An unpublished *Breviarium Frisingense* (Cod. Lat. 11768 of the Munich Staatsbibliothek) has after the third responsory of Easter matins the rubric "Et cum eo fiat processio ad medium ecclesie ad sepulchrum." A Moosburg *Visitatio* has "et statione facta in medio monasterio visitatio sepulchri fiat in hunc modum." *Zl. f. d. All.*, L, 307. A Speyer *Visitatio* has "chorus cum processione descendit in medium monasterium."

²⁹ For Würzburg, see Lange, p. 53; for Treves, Young, *Dram. Assoc.*, p. 83.

³⁰ Stötzner, *Osterfeiern nach einer Zwickauer Handschrift*, p. 20.

Of the few known versions of the *Visitatio* for Italian churches, one, that of Parma, had the sepulchre in a structure called *Paradisus* in the choir behind the high altar.³¹ The versions of Cividale and Aquileja³² seem to stand in close relation to the versions of South Germany and, like them, to have the sepulchre outside the choir. This is also the position in the *Liber Sacerdotalis* and apparently also at St. Marks, Venice.³³ Of interest in connection with Italy is the description of the *Visitatio* given by Guillaumus Durandus in his well-known *Rationale*,³⁴ indicating a sepulchre outside of the choir: "de choro ad aliquem locum tendimus ubi sepulchrum imaginarium coaptatur . . . redeunt ad chorum." This work of Durandus was written while he lived in Italy, before he became bishop of Mende.

We have seen thus that the Easter sepulchre was regularly in the choir in England and was usually in the choir in France, being either the high altar or a separate structure, but was occasionally in the nave or in a side room such as chapel, crypt or sacristy. In Germany it was usually in the nave of the church, but occasionally in the choir or in a side room. In Italy it seems also to have been usually in the nave.

³¹ "Corpus Christi . . . in Paradiso post altare maius reverenter recondatur," Young, *Dram. Assoc.*, 43.

³² Lange, pp. 58, 81, 105.

³³ Young, *Dram. Assoc.* 56 f. and 67 f.

³⁴ Ed. Strassburg, 1486, fol. CCI.

CHAPTER VII

THE NATURE OF THE SEPULCHRE IN CONTINENTAL CHURCHES

It seems advisable to consider the nature of the sepulchre on the continent and in England in separate chapters. The chief evidence in the two cases is so different in character that a joint treatment is difficult, the continental evidence being mostly from the rubrics of liturgical manuscripts giving directions for the Easter ceremonies, while the English evidence is mostly from archival sources, itemizing objects, materials and labor.

The sepulchre, both on the continent and in England, varied greatly in different churches. As there would be all degrees of splendor of Easter ceremonies from the great cathedral church or wealthy monastery down to the humble parish church, so there would be various degrees of size and splendor of sepulchre. And there were not only such differences of degree but also fundamental differences of kind between various localities or between different periods in the long development of the Easter sepulchre. An examination of the information available for the continent will reveal some evidence for the following general types of sepulchre:

1. The high altar, either merely suggestive of the sepulchre, where, as in the *Resurrexi* tropes, there was no real action, or actually representing it in the *Visitatio*.
2. Some vessel or small structure on the high altar, generally or always with a veil or cloth either covering it or hanging down around it.
3. Coffin-shaped sepulchre, generally or always with a cloth or cloths over it.
4. Coffin or altar surrounded by curtains.
5. Temporary wooden structure that could be entered.
6. Chapel with receptacle for cross or Host on or before its altar.
7. The sepulchre of the present-day exposition rite, usually a tomb-like structure with a recumbent image of Christ, surmounted by a veiled monstrance in which the Host is exposed.

A classification based chiefly upon the incomplete and more or less accidental information derived from liturgical rubrics cannot be very definite. The rubrics may mention features that put the sepulchre into one class, without excluding the possibility of other additional features that would bring it under another of the above types. Common to all the types were undoubtedly candles and rich sepulchre cloths.

1. *The Altar as Sepulchre*

The well known *Quem quaeritis* trope of the *Resurrexi* introit was at times sung antiphonally by two choruses. When, however, with a slight approach toward impersonation, one or two of the clergy sang the *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o christicolae*, and two or three the *Jesum Nazarenum*

crucifixum, or *coelicolae*, the former stood usually behind the high altar, while the latter stood in front of it, generally in the middle of the choir, as if approaching the altar. These positions are definitely indicated in the versions of Monte Cassino, Novalesa and Brescia, and doubtless represent the simple *mise en scène* in other versions as well.¹ The *Rationale* of Durandus, which, as we have seen, placed the sepulchre of the *Visitatio* outside the choir, speaks as follows of the Resurrection tropes sung about the altar as sepulchre:

Nec est omitendum quod in quibusdam ecclesiis in his septem diebus duo cum albis superpelliciis incipiunt responsorium *Hec dies* et in aliis quosdam tropos post altare quod representat sepulcrum pro eo quod corpus Jesu in eo sacramentaliter collocatur et consecratur, gerentes typum duorum angelorum qui stantes in sepulcro Christum resurrexisse retulerunt.²

With one exception, that of Brescia, there was no clear attempt at impersonation or dramatic action in the thirty odd versions of the *Quem quaeritis* trope, and in them the high altar was doubtless suggestive rather than really representative of the sepulchre.

In certain versions of the *Visitatio*, however, the altar represents the sepulchre in the dramatic action of the ceremony, the angels or the Maries raising the altar cloth or cloths so that the Maries may look in or pretend to look in and convince themselves that the sepulchre is empty. All of these versions that I have found are of French churches, which fits in with what was said in discussing the location of the sepulchre in France. In most, if not all, of these cases there was no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*. Consequently no burial receptacle was needed and the altar could the more easily serve as an imaginary sepulchre. The following rubrical excerpts will illustrate this type of sepulchre.

Besançon. "ita procedunt...cantantes...usque ante maius altare. A dextris et a sinistris altaris sunt duo pueri...respondent mulieribus sic, *Quem queritis* cantando. Et mulieres *Jhesum nazarenum*. Et angeli *Non est hic surrexit*. Et discooperiunt altare angeli linteaminibus quibus erat altare velatum." (See Appendix.)

Sens. "Angelus autem sublevans tapetum altaris, tamquam respiciens in sepulchrum, cantat: *Non est hic, surrexit*." (Lange, p. 64.)

Chalons, s.M. "Pueri uero discooperientes altare de panno albo tamquam de sudario respondent: *Non est hic*." (Lange, p. 62.)

Troyes. "Angeli: *Non est hic, surrexit*, etc., quod dum cantant, amoveant albos pannos superpositos magno altari." (See Appendix.)

Tours. "Deinde illi tres (i.e. the Maries) accedentes ad altare et intro aspicientes, versi ad chorum dicunt alta voce: *Alleluia, surrexit Dominus*." (Lange, p. 24)

Le Mans. "Tunc tres clerici accedentes ad altare cum reverentia sublevant palium cum quo sepulchrum fuerit coopertum, et sic osculanto altari recedentes veniant ante chorum et verso dorso ad altare versus chorum vultu cantent alta voce: *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus hodie*." (Lange, p. 66)

¹ The texts of these tropes may be found in Karl Young's excellent study, *The Origin of the Easter Play* (Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc., 1914). The *Quem quaeritis* trope of Vienne, sung at the Chapel of the Sepulchre in the procession before mass, is not mentioned in this study. (See Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXV, p. 180, and De Moleon, *Voy. Liturg.*, 28.)

² Edition of Strassburg, 1486, fol. CCIHIV.

The Christian altar was early associated with the tomb of a martyr or a saint and either the entire remains or some relic of martyr or saint came to be considered essential to the altar. A small cavity was often made in the stone altar table to hold the relics, a cavity to which the name *sepulchrum* was regularly given. Occasionally the holy Sacrament, the Body of Christ, was used in lieu of such a relic. This fact, together with the abundant evidence that in the patristic writings the altar symbolized the sepulchre of Christ, gives an appropriateness to this use of the altar in the *Quem quaeritis* trope and the *Visitatio*.³

2. Small Structure or Receptacle on Altar as Sepulchre

The earliest temporary Easter sepulchre of which a description has been preserved, that of the *Concordia Regularis*, seems to belong to this type. Although the *Concordia* was prepared for Benedictine use in England, its sepulchre may be considered here, since its sepulchre ceremonies probably rest upon continental usage.⁴ The direction in its *Depositio* reads: "Sit autem in una parte altaris qua vacuum fuerit quaedam assimilatio sepulchri velamenque quoddam in gyro tensum quod dum sancta crux adorata fuerit deponatur hoc ordine." This has been variously interpreted. I believe Chambers is right in thinking that the sepulchre was made on the altar, probably the high altar, and not in the hollow of it, and that it was covered from sight until wanted by a veil let down all around it from a circular support above.⁵ Somewhat similar must have been the sepulchre at Narbonne, where the two choir boys, who as angels are upon the altar and wish to show the Maries the empty sepulchre, "levant cum filo pannum qui est super libros argenti super altare in figura sepulchri."⁶ A third sepulchre of this general type is that of Metz, in which the angels sing their *Non est hic* and "interim discooperiant capsam argenteam qua est super altare sublevando velamen cum duobus baculis,"⁷ thus a silver capsula or pyx covered with a cloth which at the right moment could be raised in some way with two staves. This use of mechanical means, rather than the hand, in disclosing the empty sepulchre at Metz and Narbonne and possibly in the *Concordia* may have been a little theatrical coup to add to the dramatic effect of the moment. Some of the sepulchres considered under Type 1 may possibly belong here, i.e., there may

³ A good brief discussion of this aspect of the altar may be found in the above mentioned study of Karl Young, pp. 42-46. See also Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, 69.

⁴ See p. 32 of this study, including footnote 7.

⁵ Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 17, Note 1.

⁶ Martene, *Lib. IV*, Cap. XXV.

⁷ *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, VIII, 464. For "velamen" the MS has "levamen," but this is doubtless a copyist's error.

have been some small unmentioned receptacle for cross or Host under the cloth which the angels raise.⁸

3. *Coffer-Shaped Sepulchre*

If there was a *Visitatio* without *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, as was not infrequently the case, especially in France, there would be no great need of a receptacle. The altar with a cloth over it would make an acceptable imaginary sepulchre. If there was a *Depositio* of Host or crucifix, the Host may at first have been placed, in its chalice, on the altar, and the crucifix may have been merely wrapped and laid upon the altar; however, there would doubtless be felt very soon the desirability of some receptacle. The *Depositio* being a symbolic burial, a very natural shape for the receptacle would be that of a coffer or coffin. It will be recalled from the first part of this study that the coffer-shaped tomb of Christ, without edifice, became the prevailing type in Christian art from the eleventh century on.

It is altogether probable that some sort of a coffer was the real burial receptacle of most continental sepulchres, as we shall see it was of English sepulchres. There is mention of an *archa* or *scrineum* at Bamberg, Essen, Prüfening and Zürich, but in all these cases apparently also with surrounding curtains—a type that will be discussed a little later. The present type is the coffer, either unconcealed or with one or more cloths laid over it. At St. Gall the *custos* in preparing the sepulchre places a *sanctuarium*, i.e. a shrine or tabernacle, on a bench in the choir and covers it with a pall—"portat sanctuarium in medio chori ponens super scampnum velato panno."⁹ At Pressburg the cross seems to have been laid directly upon a bench while the Host was locked and sealed in a pyx, possibly coffer-shaped, and laid "subter linteamen et pallium ad pectus sancte crucis."¹⁰ Despite the probable frequency of the coffer as a part of the sepulchre, there is not very frequent evidence of it in the rubrical directions. In addition to the cases mentioned, it is perhaps indicated in the following from the *Elevatio* of St. Blasien: "Sacerdotes . . . eant ad sepulchrum ac illud incensent exterius, deinde levato tegimento iterum incensent interius,"¹¹ and the sepulchre may have been a coffer in the fairly frequent

⁸ In the following excerpts from a *Visitatio* of Amiens the sepulchre seems to be a receptacle on the altar, although possibly it is immediately in front of it. ". . . deux chapelains . . . entraient dans le choer . . . et marchaient droit a l'autel. . . . Alors les anges decouvraient le sepulchre en disant *Non est hic*. Les Maries montaient à l'autel, feignaient de chercher partout et regardaient dans le sepulchre. . . . Puis l'évêque entonnait le *Te Deum*, baisait le sepulchre et donnait le baiser de paix au préchantre . . ." (Cahier, *Vitraux de Bourges*, Text, 168, n. 1)

⁹ MS 448, p. 101-2. See p. 56, footnote 23.

¹⁰ See p. 36, footnote 17. At Essen and Prüfening the cross was placed outside of the coffer that contained the Host.

¹¹ Gerbert *Mon. Vet. Liturg. Alem.*, II, 236; Young, p. 6.



FIG. 16. EARLY SEPULCHRE, PRESERVED IN HUNGARY

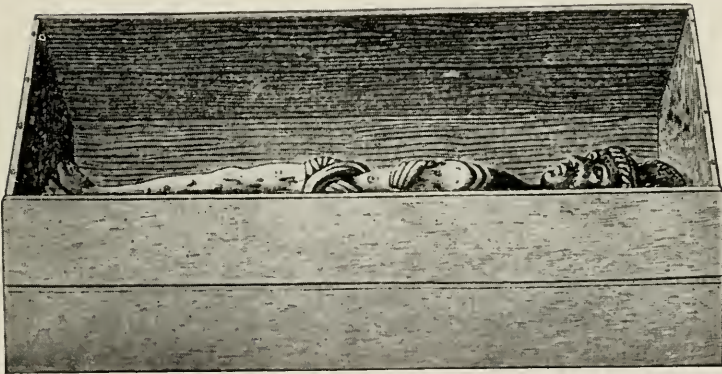


FIG. 17. EARLY SWEDISH SEPULCHRE, NOW IN THE NORSE MUSEUM IN UPSALA

other cases where mention is made of covering the sepulchre with a cloth or uncovering it by raising the cloth.

An early coffer-shaped wooden sepulchre in which is a recumbent image of Christ has been preserved in Sweden.¹² A sepulchre in the form of a richly carved coffer mounted on small wheels was preserved in Hungary in 1872, and reproduced by Dankó in that year in his *Die Feier des Osterfestes*.¹³ He thinks it may have been as old as the fifteenth century. E. A. Stüchelberg, after stating that these wooden sepulchres of the middle ages have almost all disappeared, says that the oldest well preserved one known to him is at Baar in the canton of Zug, Switzerland, a coffer about five feet long, with gable-shaped top, and with suitable scenes painted on various surfaces.¹⁴ It is probable, as we shall see later, that one or two old sepulchre coffers have been preserved in England.¹⁵ A coffin-shaped box is part of the permanent sepulchre at Mittelzell.¹⁶

4. *Curtain-Enclosed Sepulchre*

This type seems to have been quite common, in fact to have been one of the most characteristic forms of the continental Easter sepulchre. Within the curtained enclosure there would doubtless be a coffer or an altar or both. The term *sepulchrum* is sometimes applied to the whole enclosure, sometimes in a narrower sense to the receptacle within. The following rubrical excerpts, with an occasional comment, will give the best idea of this type.

Bayeux. Martene's "*Vetus Ordinarium Bajocense*" has under Good Friday "Hodie paretur sepulchrum versus cornu altaris sinistrum, lintheaminibus mundis et palliis pretiosis . . ." and under Easter Sunday, "Sacerdos . . . accedit ad sepulchrum ex utraque parte expansum." (Lib. IV, cap. XXIII and XXV) The Bayeux Missal of 1642, which I have not seen, appears to mention a canopy, for Thiers gives this description of the Bayeux sepulchre, based apparently on this Missal: "(Le Sepulcre) est un lieu préparé proche le grand Autel en forme d'Autel ou de Sepulcre, environné de rideaux de toutes parts et couverte d'un espèce de dais." (*Traité*, II, 689)

Soissons. "Sabbato sancto hora matutinale provideant custodes quod tota ecclesia et palliis vestiatur. Sepulchrum vero munda cortina a foris circumdetur." (Martene, Lib. IV, cap. XXIV) Thiers says of Soissons "L'on prepare un Sepulchre dans une Chapelle sur l'autel de la quelle l'on met le saint Sacrement." (*Traité*, II, 691)

¹² See Fig. 17. Original in the *Nordiska Museet*, Upsala. H. Hildebrand says in *Sveriges Medeltid*, III, 648: "Both in earlier and in later times the sepulchre of Christ was represented, not as it was in reality, hewn in the rock, but in the form of a coffer with a roof-like cover, of which both the long sides could be folded down, so that the inside could be seen."

¹³ See Fig. 16.

¹⁴ Stüchelberg, *Die Verehrung des heiligen Grabes*, in the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, I, 112. On the front and ends are sepulchre guards, on the cover the risen Christ with the Resurrection banner, on the inside surface of the cover the Maries and the angel at the tomb.

¹⁵ See p. 75.

¹⁶ See p. 89.

Angers. "Le Samedi-saint vers le soir l'enclos du grand Autel est couvert pardessus & pardevant d'un grand drap blanc & reste ainsi jusqu'à ce que la Resurrection ait été annoncée. Et voici comment cela se fait." (De Moleon, *Voy. liturg.*, p. 98) Then follows the *Visitatio* as reprinted by Lange, in which the angels are concealed behind the cloth and the Maries present themselves at the altar and then enter; hence it would appear that "the large white cloth above and before the altar" curtained off the enclosure.

Prüfening. The Prüfening manuscript (Cod. Lat. 12018 of the Munich *Staatsbibl.*) has among its Easter ceremonies the following rubrics: "De corpore dominico in sarcophago in altari sancte crucis loco dominici sepulchri preparato recondendo . . . dominus abbas vero et ministri nec non capellanus hoc sepulchrum, id est intra velum ante altare sancte crucis circumtensum, ingrediuntur . . . et fit stacio ante altare sancte crucis quod antea a custode loco dominici sepulchri lintheo magno specialiter ad hoc apto velatum existit." At Prüfening there was thus a coffer or sarcophagus on or before the Altar of the Holy Cross with a surrounding curtain. (See Appendix.)

Bamberg. "Alius quoque deligatur locus pro Sepulchro Domini erigendo, qui inter caetera contineat unam arcam, vel quid simile, quod claudi et obserari, atque in eo venerabile Sacramentum reponi, tutoque relinqui possit, usque ad tempus et horam Dominicæ resurrectionis" (Young, p. 115) In the *Visitatio*: "Ubi notandum est quod in templo designari, atque tapete, vel antependio claudi debet locus quidam ad representandum Christi Sepulchrum conueniens, in quo inter caetera stratum iaceat linteum, seu sudarium album et subtile, designans syndonem, quo Christi corpus mortuum inuolutum fuit." (Lange, p. 93) The occurrence of this rubric in the *Visitatio* has led Chambers to infer wrongly that the *Agenda* contained no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*. The elaborate *Elevatio* is given by Lange in *Zt. f. d. A.*, XXIX, 247 f., and both it and the *Depositio* are in Young, pp. 114 f.

Essen. "Apud altare sancti Petri per volatram versus ianuam funerum ascenditur superius ad sepulchrum, quod ante altare sancti Michaelis preparatum erit . . . Ceroferarii manebunt extra tentorium quod est supra sepulchrum prope tentorii introitum . . . Tunc aperto sepulchro scilicet archa in tentorio posita . . ." (See Appendix). Thus at Essen the sepulchre was a coffer within a tent erected in front of the Altar of St. Michael in the loft of the west choir.

Zürich. "Sed interim dum legitur predictus psalmus . . . , sacerdotes predictam paruum crucem ponunt et signando claudunt in archam que intra testudinem retro altare martyrum candido uelo circumpendente posita sepulchrum dominicum representat." (See Appendix).

Moosburg. Expleta communione corpus Christi quod superfuerit diligenter et reuenter in corporale involuto et super altari mobili posito portatur ad locum in quo crucifixus est adoretus et ibi sepulchrum pro sepultura crucifixi debet esse positum et circumductis pannis decenter preparatum. (See Appendix.) It is doubtful whether the "circumductis pannis" means enclosing curtains or only cloths 'drawn' or placed about the sepulchre receptacle.

Strassburg. (*Depositio*) Et condatur corpus domini in sepulchro . . . Sacerdote nectente fila cantetur hec antiphona, *Sepulto domino*. . . . (*Visitatio*) Celicolæ leuantes velamen sepulcro superpositum . . . (Milchsack, 122-3) It would seem that the "Sacerdote nectente fila" refers to something different from the "velamen sepulchro superpositum" and may possibly have been curtain-like hangings that could be tied with cords.

Fritzlar. (*Depositio*) ". . . postea sacerdotes exeant sepulchrum et tegentes sepulchrum cantent responsorium *Sepulto domino* . . . (*Visitatio*) . . . *Non est hic*. Et statim surgentes in sepulchrum exeuntes sepulchrum discooperiant in parte illa ubi exeunt et habentes cooperimentum sepulchri in manibus cantent *Venite et videte* . . ." (See Appendix). These rubrics seem to indicate an enclosure of hangings, which could be entered and could also be removed in part.

Von vlenſpiegel



FIG. 18. SEPULCHRE IN TILL EULENSPIEGEL. FROM THE UNIQUE COPY OF THE 1515 EDITION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

5. *Temporary Wooden Sepulchre with Entrance*

A door or entrance to the sepulchre, an "*ostium*," is frequently mentioned. Occasionally there is mention of two. In a few cases the rubrics speak of a window.¹⁷ The *ostium* may, to be sure, have been a curtain-door, or an uncurtained opening into the curtain-enclosed sepulchre of type 4, or at times a chapel entrance. The *fenestra* may even have been a window-like opening in the curtains, although this is perhaps less probable. It is, however, highly probable that in at least a number of cases the temporary sepulchre with a door was of rigid material, most naturally of wood. This may be reasonably assumed for Rouen, if the text is correct, for in one Rouen *Depositio* the archbishop or priest is directed to lave the door of the sepulchre: "Postea archiepiscopus aut sacerdos lavet ostium sepulchri, et humili voce incipiat responsorium *Sepulto Domino*."¹⁸ The most interesting evidence for this type of sepulchre is a wood cut in the 1515 edition of Till Eulenspiegel. This is, so far as I know, the only illustration of the temporary Easter sepulchre of the *Visitatio*, and it dates from the time when the ceremony was still in vogue. It shows a small house-shaped structure with saddle roof. There is an opening in front, within which the one impersonating the angel sits.¹⁹

6. *Chapel as Sepulchre*

A number of churches had Sepulchre Chapels, sometimes round or polygonal in real or supposed imitation of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. On the continent these usually contained some form of stone monument with figures, representing Christ's tomb;²⁰ about this would naturally take place such sepulchre ceremonies as the church may have had. Sometimes chapels other than Sepulchre Chapels were used for these ceremonies, as the Chapel of St. Sebastian at St. Gall, of St. Fintan at Rheinau, and of Simon and Judas at Meissen.²¹

In the case of a fairly large chapel, it would probably be merely the location for the sepulchre, in which a sepulchre of any type might be set up.

¹⁷ The rubrics mentioning doors and windows may be found conveniently collected in Bonnell's article, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1916, p. 675f.

¹⁸ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 147, p. 130. It seems probable however that in this text of Prevost "ex Ms. Bigot," the source of which cannot be located, the "lavet" is an error for "claudat."

¹⁹ See Fig. 18. The particular prank of Till Eulenspiegel to which the wood cut belongs (XIII Histori) is referred to by Karl Pearson in his study of the Passion Plays (See *Chances of Death and Other Essays*, II, 309), but the wood cut, which is not reproduced in the modern reprint of the early edition, has not hitherto been considered in the study of the Easter sepulchre.

²⁰ For these permanent sepulchres, see p. 88. According to Feasey (*Ecdl. Rev.*, 1905, p. 350) the so-called sepulchre chapels in England obtained this name from the mere fact that their walls had formerly Passion and Resurrection frescoes, without other evidence to associate them with the Easter ceremonies.

²¹ For St. Gall, Lange, p. 69; for Rheinau, Lange, p. 68; for Meissen, Young, *Dram. Assoc.* p. 107.

Strictly speaking the chapel itself can be considered a type of sepulchre only in the case of a small chapel which would form the sepulchre enclosure, analogous to the curtain enclosure in other places. This was doubtless the case at times, although it is usually difficult to determine whether a chapel was so used or not.

7. *The Sepulchre of the Exposition Rite*

We have seen that in some places, from the sixteenth century on, the burial of the Host developed into a rite of exposition of the Host. This development would naturally lead to some change in the sepulchre. The most essential part of the sepulchre, as now seen in Southern Germany and Austria, is the Host exposed in a pyx or veiled monstrance. Below, however, there is usually a graven figure of the buried Christ. The whole is surrounded by many candles and flowers, and at times with images. This type goes back to the very beginning of the exposition rite in the sixteenth century. In Munich the Jesuits had in 1580 such a figure of Christ in the tomb, "and above him the most blessed Sacrament, exposed in clouds and surrounded by worshipping angels, and about stood images representing the sufferings of the World-Redeemer. Mournful music alternated with spiritual addresses to the piously assembled people."²² In Freising in 1673 there was a "statua Christi in sepulchro."²³ Most of the modern German articles on the subject of "heilige Gräber" contain suggestions for the design and location of the sepulchre, and agree in recommending a side altar or a chapel, and not the high altar.²⁴

8. *Some Details Concerning the Continental Sepulchre*

Time of Setting up the Sepulchre. The following rubrics, all of Good Friday, give information as to the time that the sepulchre was set up.

Bayeux. Hodie paretur sepulcrum versus cornu altaris sinistrum (Martene, Lib. IV, Chap. XXIII).

Cathedral Church of Magdeburg. Quando hora nona reddibit parabunt etiam ymaginarius sepulchrum domini ante altare sancti Laurentii (Appendix).

St. Gall. Sequitur nona . . . Collecta: *Respice.* Deinde prebendarii in monasterio preparant chorum cum pannis et sepulchrum, vice quoque custos portat sanctuarium in medio chori ponens super scampnum velato panno. (Cod. 448, Stiftsbibl. pp. 101-2. See p. 56, footnote 23).

St. Blasien. Post Primam legantur VII Psalmi poenitentiales cum Letania. Dicta Letania incipiat Dominus Abbas Psalterium . . . Cum legitur Psalmus *Dixit Dominus* exeat Secretarius cum suis coadiutoribus et praeparet sepulchrum super gradum. (Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae*, II, 234)

At Soissons, where there was no *Depositio* and the Host was put in the Sepulchre before Matins on Easter morning, the curtains were placed about

²² F. J. Lipowsky, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Baiern*, 1816, II, 200.

²³ See p. 46.

²⁴ See p. 46, including footnote 67.

the sepulchre early on Holy Saturday.²⁵ The passage cited above from the Bayeux *Ordinarium* known to Martene has the sepulchre prepared on Good Friday. The *Ordinarium* published by Chevalier, which seems generally to agree exactly in wording with that of Martene, has here instead of *Hodie* the reading "*In crastino mane paratur sepulchrum*,"²⁶ thus on Holy Saturday, although the *Depositio* is on Friday. This agrees with the following from a Bayeux Customary: "*Et est sciendum quod in sabbato Pasche in mane . . . paratur etiam sepulchrum, quod est juxta altare in parte sinistra, duobus pannis sericis exterius, et albis ac mundissimis lintheis interius, in quo Corpus dominicum cum cruce et calice ibidem est repositum a die veneris precedente.*"²⁷ It would seem thus that at Bayeux the bare sepulchre receptacle was used on Friday but that the adornment of it here, as at Soissons, was on Saturday in connection with the general re-adorning of the church and its altars which had been denuded since Thursday.

Contents of the Sepulchre. The most essential contents, the Host and the cross, or crucifix, or carved image, have already been discussed. These were wrapped or covered with one or more fine cloths. At Rouen and at Essen the head of the crucifix was to be placed to the west.²⁸ At Bayeux a cushion was to be placed under the cross. In several South German versions of the *Depositio*, including Freising and Moosburg, I have found this rubric: "*Collocatur crucifixus in sepulchrum et lintheaminibus cooperiatur. Deinde lapis videlicet altare mobile sub capite seu sub dextro latere ponatur.*"²⁹ The cloths covering or enveloping the crucifix symbolize naturally the wrappings of the body of Christ. The Magdeburg *Depositio* says: "*Et substernetur cruci ab episcopo mundissimum lintheum et alio lintheo mundissimo operietur, quia, ut super dictum est, Ioseph inuoluit corpus domini syndone munda.*"³⁰ Very frequently it is specifically directed that *two* priests place the cross or Host in the sepulchre, representing thus Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. Of interest in this connection is the following rubric of the *Depositio* of Barking: "*Ibique in specie Joseph et Nichodemi de ligno deponentes Ymaginem uulnera Crucifixi uino abluant et aqua,*"³¹ a passage which probably indicates symbolism rather than impersonation.

²⁵ Reprint of *Rituale*, p. 90, also in Martene. See above, p. 63.

²⁶ Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de Bayeux*, p. 130.

²⁷ Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de Bayeux*, p. 402. This same customary however gives on Friday the *Depositio* with a certain amount of adorning with "*mundis et albis lintheaminibus*" (p. 389).

²⁸ Essen, "*capite crucis verso ad occidentem* (Arens, p. 58); Rouen, "*pedibus versis ad orientem*" (*Le Graduel de l'Église Cathédrale de Rouen* (1917), 257).

²⁹ For Freising and Moosburg, see Appendix.

³⁰ Appendix.

³¹ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 925.

Other objects were occasionally placed in the sepulchre with the Host or cross. At Indersdorf the church relics were so deposited.³² At Origny three reliquaries, apparently with the relics in them, were borne by the Maries on Sunday in the *Visitatio* and placed on the altar in the sepulchre, where the people later did reverence to them.³³ At Essen the relics were deposited with the Host in the "archa," as was also the "pleonarius," a richly bound evangeliary belonging to the convent.³⁴ At Soissons an evangeliary was placed on the altar of the sepulchre on Friday,³⁵ whereas the Host, as we know, was not deposited here until Easter. At Bayeux a pyx with the Host was placed on one side of the crucifix, while an empty chalice, covered with a paten, was placed on the other side. In several South German versions of the *Depositio*, including Augsburg, the chalice with the Host was placed "sub dextro crucifixi humero."³⁶ Feasey mentions that at Albi (Aquitaine) a chalice with wine was buried with the Host.³⁷ At Magdeburg, after the burial of the cross, there were placed by the archbishop "duo lapides, unus ad caput crucis, alius ad pedes."³⁸

Closing of the Sepulchre, Its Lights, Guards, etc. When the objects had been placed in the sepulchre receptacle, it was closed. Definite mention is made at times of its being locked and in some cases sealed. It is rather frequently directed, in South German versions, that a stone be placed over the sepulchre.³⁹ At Strassburg the sepulchre was closed in some way by the tying of cords, "sacerdote fila nectente." Where the rubrics mention specifically the number of candles that are to burn about the sepulchre, the number is usually not large and is probably to be considered as a minimum. Sometimes there is general mention of "many candles." In the Soissons *Rituale* there is the following interesting rubric:

Et unus funiculus insuper a capite usque ad pedes pretendatur, in quo circulus quidam

³² "Sacrista aquam benedictam cum incensu procuret et reliquias sanctorum accipiat a ministris et ponat in sepulchrum coram imaginem salvatoris" (From the *Depositio* of Cod. lat. 7691 of Munich Staatsbibliothek, the *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* of this MS have been published by Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 905 f.)

³³ Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Age*, p. 340.

³⁴ See Appendix. The cross, as already mentioned, was laid upon the 'archa' and covered with a cloth.

³⁵ "Finito evangelio, subdiaconus accipiat illud et, quasi in occulto sub infula sua velut in sinu suo, deferat ad sepulchrum, clericulo cum thure precedente, impositoque super altare quod est in sepulcro, ambo revertantur." Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII.

³⁶ *Directorium Augustanum*, Cod. lat., 3912, Munich Staatsbibliothek, fol. 29v.

³⁷ *Eccles. Review*, XXXII, 1905, p. 342.

³⁸ Appendix.

³⁹ For Diessen, see Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 907; the *Agenda Numburgense* has "paruus lapis superponitur" (*Liturgische Bibliothek*, I, 69); other cases are numerous in South German versions.

ferreus habens VII Cereos super ostium Sepulchri in altum dependeat. Circulus autem iste, qui et stella a nobis nuncupatur, uerum Luciferum qui mane resurrexit, designat.⁴⁰

It is probable that there were usually guards about the sepulchre, although there is no such frequent mention of them on the continent as there is in England. In an Augsburg *Ordo* of 1487, a guard was made a requirement for leaving the Host in the sepulchre. There seems to have been usually reading of the psalter, often by boys or scholars. At the end of an Aquileia *Depositio* is the rubric, "scholares secundum morem patrie incipiunt legere Psalterium."⁴¹ At Augsburg, as we have seen, Bishop Peter gave a sum for stipendia for young scholars who "bey dem heiligen Grabe vom Charfreytage bis zum Osterfeste beständig das Psalterium beten sollten."⁴² At times the watchers were accoutred as soldiers. The following description in *The Bee-Hive of the Roman Church* is frequently quoted:

They made the graue in a hie place in the church, where men must goe up manie steppes, which are decked with blacke cloth from aboue to beneath, and upon everie steppe standeth a silver candlesticke with a waxe candle burning in it, and there doe walke souldiours in harnesse, as bright as Saint George, which keep the graue, till the Priests come and take him up.⁴³

I have found in medieval rubrics no mention of flowers about the sepulchre. This is, however, a common custom at the present day in Germany and Austria, and was evidently in vogue as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, as seen in the following description from the *Regnum Papisticum* of Naogeorgus:

Multa statim populus comportat lumina circum
Cancellisque haeret, noctemque diemque; precatur
Curuatis genibus, uiolisque et flore sepulchrum
Omnigeno exornat, suaque affert munera large,
Adsunt conducti quoque qui psalteria cantent.⁴⁴

Removal of the Objects Buried and of the Sepulchre. The buried objects were removed on Easter morning. If the ceremony of the *Visitatio* was to follow the *Elevatio*, it was probably usual to leave in the sepulchre the cloths that had covered the cross and Host; these, as the grave linen left behind, would serve in the *Visitatio* as evidence of the Resurrection. A Prague manuscript has the rubric "relicto tamen lintheo usque dum ipsa nocte sepulchrum a sororibus uisitetur."⁴⁵ The sepulchre was, at least occasion-

⁴⁰ Reprint of *Rituale*, 108.

⁴¹ Young, *Dram. Assoc.*, 94.

⁴² See p. 43, footnote 56.

⁴³ *The Bee-Hive* appeared in English in 1579, being translated from Isaac Rabbotenu of Louvain, 1569, see Chambers' *Medieval Stage*, II, 23. At Orleans, Coutances, and Sainte Chapelle (Paris) there were soldiers in the ceremony of the *Visitatio*.

⁴⁴ Edition of 1553, pp. 148-9.

⁴⁵ See Appendix. Similarly in a South Germany *Elevatio* of Benedictine use, probably of Hirsau: "relicto tamen lintheo usque dum in ipsa nocte sepulchrum a fratribus uisitetur" (Young, p. 79).

ally, left open after the *Elevatio* to show its emptiness.⁴⁶ In some places, the sepulchre was taken down about a week after Easter; at Bayeux it is stated: "Et hec paratura sepulchri durat usque ad diem sabbati subsequentem." On these days after Easter, at Bayeux and at Soissons, and probably elsewhere, there were processions to the sepulchre daily at Vespers. Where there was a Chapel of the Sepulchre, processions to it took place often through a much longer period, as at Vienne, and at Origny. It seems to have been usual, where the rite of exposition had developed, to remove the sepulchre immediately after the *Elevatio*. In the Freising Ritual, it is directed that this be done, if its weight be not too great.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ One of the several cases where this is mentioned is Hereford: "Sepulcrum vero stet ostio aperto vacuum usque post Vesperas hac die in testimonium Resurrectionis" (Young, p. 112).

⁴⁷ See p. 46.

CHAPTER VIII

EASTER SEPULCHRES IN ENGLAND

The Easter sepulchre was in wide use in England. However, of evidence similar to that chiefly used in studying the sepulchre of the continent there exists but little in England. Although the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* were regular ceremonies laid down in the ordinal of the church, yet there is no such abundance and variety of liturgical directions for them as we have found on the continent. This may be due in part to the destruction of liturgical manuscripts after the Reformation, but is doubtless due chiefly to the fact that the Sarum rite became so widely followed in England that the few other rites which continued to exist were influenced by it and did not differ very greatly from it.¹ The *Visitatio Sepulchri* seems to have been rather of a local nature. It is not in the regular Sarum rite, although it is found in a Sarum processional belonging to the church of St. John, Dublin. It is found also in an ordinal of the Benedictine Nunnery of Barking. These two are the only versions that are known, aside from the early one of the *Concordia Regularis* and the *Quem queritis* trope of Winchester. It is not possible to say how wide-spread the ceremony would have been found to be, if service books had not been destroyed, but it is certainly not justifiable to assume, as is sometimes done, that there was a *Visitatio* wherever there was an Easter sepulchre.

There is in England on the other hand a wealth of evidence about the sepulchre of a kind almost unknown on the continent. This is from archival sources, chiefly from early church wardens' accounts, medieval wills, and early church inventories. This evidence begins in the thirteenth century, remains very scant during the fourteenth, is quite abundant for about a century and a half, and ceases about 1560. The Easter sepulchre survived the church reforms of Henry VIII with their dissolution of the monasteries and abolition of the worship of shrines and relics, was abolished in the course of the further reforms under Edward VI, was restored by order of Queen Mary in 1554, and disappeared finally under Elizabeth. These religious changes around the middle of the sixteenth century, with the numerous church inventories taken under Edward VI, the reconstruction of sepulchres under Mary, and the disposal of them by sale, destruction, or otherwise, under Elizabeth, have left in the archives many interesting entries concerning Easter sepulchres.

¹ A comparative analysis of the Easter commemoration in the rites of Sarum, York, Hereford and Exeter may be found in the Appendix to J. D. Chambers' *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*.

That the Easter sepulchre made a strong popular appeal in England is evident from medieval wills. In these a desire is not infrequently expressed to be buried near the sepulchre or to have a tomb so located and constructed that it could be used as a part of the sepulchre; thus Thomas Plowright (1546) desired to be buried "betwene ye sepulcre foytt (foot) and ye marble stone before ye autentecall aluter (high altar)"² and Lord Dacre (1531) directs his burial to be on the north side of the high altar and "that a tomb be there made for placing the sepulchre of our Lord, with all fitting furniture thereto in honor of the most blessed sacrament."³ There are innumerable wills with bequests for the sepulchre (its construction and furnishings, its painting or gilding, its repair, etc.) and for sepulchre lights. The following are a few examples from Northamptonshire:⁴

1499. John Kyng, of Hanging Houghton. "Lego ad reparacionem sepulchri Domini iij*s*. iij*d*."

1516. Thomas Hunt, of Cransley. "To the preparyng and furnyschyng of the sepulcur x hewe schype (ewe sheep) . . . and that the increase of them may be to the supportacion of the same."

1519. Sir John Pollard, parson of Luddington in the Brook. "I bequeth x bee hyves to meynteyn the sepulture light, which x bee hyves shall be in the custody of ye chyrch wardens."

1519. John Arnold, of Wold. "To the sepulcr every yer xij*d*. to be payd on Passyon Sunday as long as my father in lawe lyffs and after hys deyth I gyffe a kowgh (cow) to the meyntenyng of the seyd sepulcr lyght."

1523. W. Jelyion, of Helmdon. "To the sepulchre light one quarter of barley to ye encreasyng ye stocks of ye forsaid lyght."

1528. Thomas Walter, of Cransley. "To the gyldyng of the sepulcre x*s*."

A good many English churches still have, on the north side of the chancel, architectural structures in the form of walled recesses, vaulted enclosures, or flat top tombs, which were formerly used in the Easter ceremonies. It must be borne in mind, however, that these permanent structures constituted only a part of the sepulchre of Easter, a base or pedestal for the sepulchre coffer, and a certain architectural setting which was doubtless supplemented by "all fitting furniture thereto," as Lord Dacre's will says, consisting usually of a wooden frame with many lights and numerous rich cloths and draperies. A classification therefore in which the temporary sepulchre is one class and the various forms of permanent structure are the other classes is inaccurate.⁵ A better classification is one that distinguishes two large classes, one the wholly temporary sepulchre and the other the largely temporary one with a permanent architectural base and

² See *Archaeological Journal* (1913), 228.

³ Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, III, 79.

⁴ *Archaeological Journal* (1913), 228 f.

⁵ Such a classification, found in Feasey's *Holy Week Ceremonial* and used by Bonnell but going back at least to Walcott's *Sacred Archaeology* (1868), gives five classes—walled recess, tomb, temporary structure, vaulted enclosure, and chapel.



FIG. 19. A MEDIEVAL HEARSE. FROM MS AUCT. D. INF. 2, 11, BODLEIAN LIBRARY

setting. Under this second class the various kinds of permanent settings would come as subdivisions. The discussion at present will take up the temporary features, leaving to a later chapter the permanent structures.

No picture of a temporary sepulchre seems to have been preserved. The archival data afford many scattered hints as to its appearance but it is difficult to combine and complete them. As the ceremony of the burial of the cross and Host seems to have been to some extent an imitation of the usual burial rites of the middle ages, the following description of the hearse, as set up in church burials, will serve as a basis for comparison in the course of this chapter.

The hearse appears to have been a foursquare framework of timber, from each corner upright post of which rose a rafter slanting, and all four rafters met at the top. This was covered with black cloth, and at funerals of persons of rank and note was set up for a time in the choir purposely for the reception of the body during the service; it was surrounded with rails and richly fringed and ornamented according to the rank of the deceased. Thus if the funeral was that of an earl, the hearse was fitted with a majesty and valance fringed; if of a knight banneret, with a valance fringed only, if of a bachelor knight, with neither majesty nor valance.⁶

Dr. Rock, after giving a similar description of the frame of the hearse, with its upright posts, says:

From these uprights, as well as from the ribs which spanned the top and kept the whole together, sprouted out hundreds of gilt metal branches for wax tapers; and dotted all over amid them drooped a great many small flags or "pennoncel." The first story of the hearse was ceiled with an awning of silk, hung about with a scocheoned valance, and this tester-like covering was known as the "majesty."⁷

1. *Making the Sepulchre*

The following are some selected items concerning the making of the sepulchre:

1426-7. *St. Mary at Hill, London*. "Also payd to Thomas Joynour for makynge of the same sepulcre, iiijjs."

1477. *Dunkhaved, Cornwall*. "for making of ye sepulchre, ijd."

1490. *Patton*. "For makynge of the sepulture and the cafe, iijjd."

1536. *St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*. "Inprimis payed for a peece of Tymber for the sepulcer, xd. Item payed for Sawynge of the same Tymber, ijd. Item payed to the joyner for workynge of the Tymber in the sepulcer, xiiijd.

1543-4. *Tavistock*. "Itm pd unto george ffisher for ix dayes worke makying the Sepulcre & for mete & Drink. . . . Itm pd unto mr Servyngton for wenskot (wainscoting) for the Sepulcre, xsd. Itm pd unto peter Eggecomb for Deale bords for the same, xvjd. Itm pd unto Richard ffoster for bords, xijjd. Itm pd for nayles for the same, ijd."

1553. *Lydd*. "Item payde to Aton for 4 dayes worke he and his man makynge of ye sepulcre, ye Judas, and ye church style, eny day 2s, 6d, . . . 10s. Item paid to Aton for tymber to make ye sepulcre, 16d.

1558-9. *St. Helen's, Abingdon*, "Payde for making the sepulture, 10s."

⁶ M. H. Bloxam, *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, 129. See Fig. 19.

⁷ *Church of Our Fathers*, II, 399 f.

The term "making the sepulchre" did not in all cases mean the same thing; it referred sometimes to the making of the sepulchre coffer only, at other times it included the frame or other appurtenances, and at times did not mean making or constructing at all, but meant the setting up and adorning of the sepulchre. This last seems clearly the case in this item of St. Mary, Devizes, of 1500, "For making of the Sepulchre and taking down, ijd." In the following itemized bill, apparently of the year 1422, from the records of All Saints, Bristol,⁸ the 'making' includes material and labor for sepulchre and appurtenances, including frontel and fringe, as well as bread and ale for the workmen:

Payment for makynge of the Sepulkor

	£	s	d
Imprimis for 3 Easterlygge bordys.....		1	6
Item to 1 Kerver.....		10	9
Item to 1 Mason.....			9
Item Ryc Peynter.....	1	3	3
Item the procutorys of St. Nickolas.....			3
Item Iren gayr.....			8
Item 1 ffrontell and 1 ffrange.....		9	0
Item Lymc, nayles, and rekhokys.....			2
Item in bred and ayle.....			8

From some of the entries cited above, as well as from many others that might be cited, it is clear that the main part of the sepulchre was of wood. Doubtless the sepulchre varied much in elaborateness, as the variations in cost indicate and as would be expected from the natural differences between churches in wealth and fondness for display. Occasionally there are amounts indicating even a larger cost than at All Saints. At St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1512, is the item "payed to William Barton to the new Sepulcar iiij*li*, xiijs, xd." In the will of John Asten (1533) of Rolvenden, Kent, is the bequest "Also £6 to the making at my proper cost an honest Sepulchre for the Blessed Body of Our Lord to be laid in at Easter in the Church, and to the buying of one holy cloth there to hang on the Sepulchre at the holy time of Easter, and to do service in the church there at other times."⁹ At St. Matthews, Friday Street, London, in 1547-8, is the item "Receuyed of Mr. Mounslo for a sepulker sold w'tin the tyme of this accompt iiij*li*, iijs, iiijd."¹⁰

⁸ Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, I, 203. Noteworthy is the large payment to the painter; doubtless scenes were painted, probably both on the wood and the cloth. The "carver" did the carpentering. He probably received not more than 6*d* per day and the painter not much more, from which the amount of labor involved in making and adorning this sepulchre can be readily seen.

⁹ Hussey, *Testamenta Cantiana*, 389.

¹⁰ *Archaeological Journ.*, XXV, 364.

2. *The Sepulchre Coffer*

The church ceremonies called for a receptacle into which the cross and Host were to be placed on Good Friday and out of which they were to be taken on Easter morning. In a temporarily erected sepulchre of wood such a receptacle would very naturally be a chest or coffer. And in fact a coffer seems to have been the central and most essential part of the sepulchre.

1491. *St. Dunstan's, Canterbury.* Item payde for nayles for the chest and to the sepulcre, ijd.

1507. *Holy Trinity, Cambridge.* To a warkeman for makyng of a Cofer to the Sepulcur, vjs., viijd. Item paied to Richard Rolfe for two waynskottes to the same Cofer, iijd. Item paied to George Foyster for nailes and claspys to the same Cofer, iijd.

1540. *Ludlow.* Item payd to Thomas Hunt for mendynge of the crofer for ye sepulcre, vjd. Item payd for borde nayle and lathe neale for the same cofer, ijd.

A sepulchre chest that stood "in the quere" of St. Mary Woolnoth Church, London, cost xxd.¹¹ At St. Martin's, New Romney, in 1550, the sepulchre frame was sold to one person for viijd, while another paid xijd for the "tombe of ye sepulcre"¹² this being probably a chest. Most writers on the Easter sepulchre in England quote a description of a sepulchre coffer which is or was in Snitterfield vicarage, Warwickshire, the front and two ends of which have carved panels with scenes from the Passion and Resurrection, but according to Francis Bond¹³ this coffer belongs to the 17th century and hence has not served as a sepulchre. The panels, however, are older, belonging to the 14th or 15th century and may be from an early sepulchre chest. Bond mentions, however, another one, now in private hands, in the north of Derbyshire, saying that it is of the fifteenth century and of table form, with panelled and traceried sides and is 2 feet, 3 inches long, 2 feet broad and nearly 3 feet high.

A manuscript entitled *Inventarium monumentorum superstitionis* contains a list of goods of certain Lincolnshire churches destroyed or "put to prophane use" in or before the year 1566.¹⁴ Among these many objects are about fifty Easter sepulchres; some of these were put to profane uses of such a nature as to suggest a coffer shape, one "whereof is made a shelf to set dishes on," another "sold to Johnne orson and he haith made a presse thereof to laie clothes therein," another "defaced whearof we made a bear (bier) to carie the dead corps and other things."¹⁵

¹¹ Feasey, *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 355.

¹² *Ibid.*, 354.

¹³ *The Chancel of the English Church*, 234.

¹⁴ Published by Edward Peacock under the title *Early Church Furniture*.

¹⁵ It is of course possible in these cases that the sepulchre was taken entirely to pieces and rebuilt, as is specifically mentioned in one case "Itm one sepulcre broken in peces in Ao pmo Elizabeth and a coion (communion) table made thereof."

The sepulchre coffer, used for the "burial" of the cross and Host, is analogous to the coffin within the hearse, and the term "coffin" is sometimes used for it, as at St. Andrew Hubbard, East Cheap, in 1480-82, "a Coffyn to laye in the Crossis," and at St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, in 1466, a "Tabyll coffyn for the crosse."

The coffer was usually carved, gilded, or painted with scenes or emblems of the Passion or Resurrection, as at Yalding Church the woodwork of the sepulchre was "to be made according to good wurmanship and afterwarde to be gilded with the Resurrexion of our Lorde."¹⁶ Father Feasey states positively that the coffer had the form of a gabled or coped chest. I know of no direct evidence of this and a coffer of table form, as mentioned above, seems to have been preserved. The coped form is, however, a very probable one, being the usual one of the coffin of ordinary burials, as well as of the very common portable shrine for relics. Such a shrine, or reliquary, was doubtless used at times for the Easter ceremonies in England, as it was on the continent.¹⁷

3. *The Sepulchre Frame*

The sepulchre seems usually to have had a frame that was set up about the coffer.

1513. *St. Lawrence, Reading.* It. payd to Harry Horthorne for setting up of the frame aboute the sepulcre & for closyng of the dore in Seynt Johns chauncell to the quyre, vjd.

1553. *Wing, Buckingham.* It. payde to Edwarde Warde for makynge of the frame about the sepulcre, xd.

1554. *Lydd.* Item payde to Hever for makynge ye lent clothe and trymmynge the fframe aboute ye Sepulker, 18d.

The will of Wm. Cromer of Tunstall, Kent, contains the following bequest, a strikingly large sum:

For the making of a new frame for the Sepulchre, and a stone to lie upon it £6, 13s, 4d; and as many Estriche birdes (boards) as shall make it.¹⁸

In this item of St. Ewens, Bristol, "Item paid for a batylment to hang a clothe on ye sepulchre in ye chancel, ix*d*,"¹⁹ the "battlement" was probably a sort of frame, as was probably also the "apparail" of wood and iron in another St. Ewens item: "The apparail of tre and Ire made for the Sepulcre with the cloths steyned ther to ordeyned."²⁰ The frequent items for

¹⁶ *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, III, 248.

¹⁷ The shrine, which held such an important and conspicuous place in the medieval church, often on a shelf above the high altar, may well have had some influence upon the Easter sepulchre. We have seen that on the continent relics were sometimes put in the sepulchre, and at High Wycombe there was "a sepulcur boxe wyth certain relykes." F. C. Eeles, *Edwardian Inventories for Buckinghamshire*, 137.

¹⁸ Hussey's *Testamenta Cantiana*, 345.

¹⁹ Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, II, 251.

²⁰ *Bristol and Gloucestershire, Archaeol. Trans.*, XV., 152.

the painting or gilding of the sepulchre may have been for the coffer alone or for it and the frame. In the following from St. Nicholas, Bristol, the frame seems to have been set up especially to be gilded, probably at some time other than Easter, "Item ffor setyng up & takeyng downe off the fframe of the Sepulker when it was showyd ffor to be gyllt, iiij*d*." ²¹

The sepulchre frame was usually of wood, and would most naturally be quadrangular in form with posts at the corners, as was the case with the hearse. Evidence of this for the sepulchre is an item of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, London. "Itm j sepulcure ouer gyldyd, wt j frame to be set onn with iiij posts and crysts ther to." ²²

The close analogy between sepulchre frame and hearse is obvious, and the frame is sometimes called 'herse.' Thus the parish accounts of St. Peter Cheap, London, mention "j hersse for the sepulchre and iiij aungels thereto." ²³ The angels evidently stood on the four corner posts of the hearse, or frame, as we know they did at St. Stephens. ²⁴ At St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, in 1537, there was "payed to John Capper ffor settyng up the hyrse & kepyng of the sepulcre light, ijs." It is not clear whether the top of the sepulchre frame was like that which the hearse usually had, with its slanting rafters covered with black cloth. At Wandsworth, Surrey, is the item "payd ffor arafter ffor ye sepokkar, iij*d*." ²⁵

At St. Mary Cole Church, London, the frame seems to have been entirely of iron. ²⁶ When of wood, the frame was probably at times strengthened or ornamented with iron. This may well be the meaning of the item of St. Edmunds, Salisbury, 1477-8, "Et sol' pro ferramento de novo empto pro firmacione et factura de la Sepultur' ibidem, xiijs, iij*d*." At Ludlow payment was made in 1559 for a "claspe of iron set apou the frame of the sepulcur." A number of other items, including the above quoted "iron gear" at All Saints, Bristol, show the use of iron about the sepulchre, sometimes for rings, or staples, or hooks; at Eton payment was made "pro certis instrumentis ferreis ponderantibus xlⁱ—pro sepulchro Domini erga diem Parasceve." ²⁷ Iron may have been used, as Father Feasey suggests, for ornamental bands on the coffer, but I think it probable that it was used more frequently in connection with the frame, at times doubtless for pins or prickets for the tapers.

²¹ *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, VI, 56.

²² See p. 84. At St. Edmund, 1462-3, is the expenditure "Et carpentar' facienti postem sepulcri cum mearemio ad idem, vjd." (*Wills Record Society*, 1896, pp. 9-10)

²³ *Archaeolog. Journ.* (1868), 159.

²⁴ See p. 84.

²⁵ *Surrey Archaeol. Collection*, XV, 126.

²⁶ See Heales, *Archaeologia*, XLII, 303. Entirely of iron were the frames temporarily set up over tombs to support palls spread over them on anniversary occasions. See Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné d'Architecture*, IX, 64.

²⁷ Feasey, *Eccles. Rev.*, XXXII, 353. Feasey prints xlⁱ, probably by mistake for x^{li}.

In churches where there was no walled recess or flat top tomb to serve as a base for the sepulchre coffer at Easter time, there would probably be a temporary base, either a part of the frame or a support set within the frame, similar to a bier. Such a base is mentioned occasionally in continental texts; at Pressburg and at St. Gall it was a bench (*scamnum*).²⁸ At Ludlow for 1540 is the item "payd unto Croket for mendynge of a bare (bier) for the sepulcre, ijd."²⁹ This bier may have been such a base, although it may possibly have been used only to bear the cross or Host in the procession, as occasionally on the continent.³⁰ In this item of St. Benedict, London,³¹ of 1553, "Pd for ye ffoote of ye sepulchre and for a desk for ye high aulter, 8s," it is possible that the "foot" was such a base. It is also possible that the 'stools' that are occasionally mentioned in connection with the sepulchre were used as a base for the coffer.³²

4. *Setting up the Sepulchre*

On or immediately before Good Friday each year the sepulchre with its frame would be set up in its regular position on the north side of the chancel.

1512-3. *St. Mary at Hill, London*. Paid for a Carpenter to set up the Sepulcre, iiij*d*.

1544-5. *St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*. Item to John Capper for setting up the sepulcre, ijs, viij*d*.

1554. *Eltham*. Item paid for setting up the sepulchre, iiij*d*.

1555. *St. James, Garlickhithe*. Setting the sepulture, iiij*d*.

1557-8. *St. Edmund, Salisbury*. Setting up of the Sepulker, ijd.

1557-8. *Ludlow*. Paid for setting up the cepulcre, viij*d*.

Most of the sums paid indicate that the setting up took from a quarter to a half day of a man's time. The sum at St. Mary the Great is strikingly large, representing probably at least three full days of a skilled workman's time. It would be rather large even if it included the "dressing" of the sepulchre.

5. *Dressing the Sepulchre*

After the sepulchre was set up, it had to be dressed. This consisted chiefly in putting the rich cloths and hangings in position, although it probably included the placing in position of the tapers or any other adornments.

²⁸ See p. 62.

²⁹ Thomas Wright, *Church Wardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*, 3.

³⁰ At Meissen, at St. Marks, and in the *Liber Sacerdotalis* of Castellani (Young, pp. 107, 68, and 56).

³¹ J. P. Malcolm, *London Redivivum*, I, 314.

³² Holy Trinity, Clapham, "Item dyvers stayned clothes and stools for the sepulchre"; High Wycombe "a sepulcur of Tymber wt a stole thereto." Nichols, in his *Illustrations*, 79, cites the item "paide to Thomas Smyth, wright, for mendyng of the kirke stoles by half a day and for nails, 4½*d*." and says that the stools were to support coffins during funerals, that is, to serve as a bier.

1545. *St. Michael's, Bedwardine*. Item for the dressing of the sepulter, *iiijd.*

1553-4. *St. Edmund, Salisbury*. Robert Martyn for dressing of the Sepulcer, *viiijd.*

1555-6. *Ludlow*. Paid to the sayd Thomas for dressynge of the sepulcre, *xijd.*

These sums of four, eight and twelve pence indicate an operation taking a considerable part of a day. A Bristol item seems to mean that the clerk and the suffragen took payment for a supper for dressing the sepulchre, "The Clerke and the suffrygann to Dress uppe the sepulcure takyng for a soper *vjd.*"³³ Instead of "dress," an item at Lydd speaks of "trymmyng the fframe about ye sepulker," while one at St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, uses the term "hang"—"Item payd for naylys, pynes and Thred to Heng the Sepulcur, *ijd.*"³⁴ At Maidstone, Kent, there were "ix peces of garynsching whyche served to the sepulchre."³⁵

In 1555-6 at Ludlow there is mention of the purchase of one hundred "tackes to the sepulcur" as well as "pyns and whypcorde for the sepulcure." These purchases and the above cited *xiid* (a full day's wages) for dressing the sepulchre in this same year, indicate rather elaborate adornment. Among other things mentioned as used about the sepulchre, although it is not always clear whether they are used for dressing it or setting it up, are "divers naylis and wires and glu," "tentyr hookes," "hokes and staplis" at St. Mary at Hill, London; "sylk poynts" and "silver aglotts gilt" at St. Lawrence, Reading; "nayles, cordes and pyns," "small cordes," "viij rynges and viij staples and a hoke of yron" at Ludlow; "wyer for the curteynes," and "tacketts, pynnes, and threydde to dress the sepulcer" at Bedwardine; "prigs (brads) and nayll" at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury; "hookis and buccalles (buckles)" at Worfield; "pynnes and packe thredde," at Minchinhampton. Pins, nails, and tacks are especially often mentioned.

6. *Sepulchre Cloths*

There is a wealth of items about the cloths and hangings of the sepulchre. Various colors are mentioned, white, blue, green, black, and especially often red and crimson, and various materials, linen, silk, satin, velvet, buckram, dornick, cloth of gold, cloth of Baudekyn; on them were often scenes from the Passion, Burial, or Resurrection, embroidered or more frequently painted.

1395. *All Saints, Bristol, Inventory*. Item ij Steynyd cloths for ye Sepulchr wt *iiij* Knyghtys and Mary Magdalen.

1470. *St. Margaret Pattens, London*. Item a Grete Cloth of Tapestri werke for to hang upon the walle by hynde the Sepulcur.

1492-3. *St. Petrock*. For 8 yards of linen cloth "pro sepulchro," 4s. For "sawying" (sewing) the same, 1d. For "stayning" the same, 20d. For making "le valance sepulcri & aris" for the same, 2s 6d.

³³ *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, V, 112.

³⁴ *History of the Church and Parish of St. Mary-on-the-Hill*, by J. P. Earmaker, 212.

³⁵ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXII, 30.

1500. *St. Dunstan, Canterbury.* A clothe staynyd off the resurreccion for the sepulcre.

1518. *Church of Our Lady, Woodford Halse.* A charpett to the crose for to lye on the sepulcur.

1527-8. *St. Mary at Hill, London.* paid for an eln of fyne lynnyn cloth to amend the sepulture cloth wherat it was eiton (eaten) with rattes, xijd. paid to a bedmaker for mending & Sowing the same, xijd. paid to Mr. Wolf for payntyng & renewing the Images in the same cloth, vs.

Maidstone, Kent. It'm ix peces of garnyshing whyche served to the sepulchre, some be smale and all be narro.

Wycombe. A staynid clothe of gold powderid with gold & sylver for the sepulcur wt a lynnyn clothe thereto.

Amersham. Item a covyryng of silke for the sepulture, a valens of silke, a linen clothe to the sepulture, a valens for the same of peynted clothe.

Synt Pollys, Exeter. It. a cloth that hangeth before the Sepulchre.

Salford Hundred, Dran. xvj peces off olde Lynnen used abowte ye Sepulcre.

St. Leonard's Priory, Norwich. Item diversi panni pro sepulcro steyned cum hystoria Resurrectionis.

St. Paul's, London. Item, two riche clothes for the garnysinge of the Sepulchre. Item two other smaller clothes for the Sepulchre of nedle worke one of them of the Sepulchre and thother of the resurrection.

Sepulchre cloths, one or more, doubtless covered the coffer itself, just as the coffin within the hearse was covered with a pall. This may well be meant by the mention at Bucklebury of "two payntid clothes wch wer wount to cover the Sepulchre"; this was in all probability the use made of a cloth inventoried at Yatendone, Berkshire, as "A sepulker clothe of blacke velvete wt a crose of Clothe of gold wroughte upon the same," corresponding thus to the "wide full pall of black velvet or cloth of gold, marked with a cross in the middle"³⁶ which was spread over the coffin within the hearse. At Durham the sepulchre was "sett vpp upon good friday after the passion all covered with redd ueluet and embrodered with gold."³⁷

The sepulchre cloths seem, however, to have been used chiefly for hanging or trimming the frame. As we have seen, an item of St. Marys, Cambridge, mentions "a frame to the Sepulcar with clothes to the same" and one at Lydd speaks of "trymmynge the fframe aboute ye Sepulker." At St. Peter Cheap there was a payment "for pynnys & naylles and other necessaryes to hange up the clothe." The sepulchre, like the hearse, had at times its valance and fringe, which would doubtless be about the frame. At St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1554, after Queen Mary came to the throne there was this inquiry "It. to enquire for the valence & ffringe about the sepulcre." At St. Margaret's, Westminster, there was in 1560 "a brosclothe wt an Image of the Trynytie and a peace of vallance for the sepullchre wt a fringe of blak sylk and goold." The occasional "fronts" or "frontlets" were probably hung somewhat similarly about the frame. At Cranbrook,

³⁶ Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, II, 402.

³⁷ *Surtess Society*, CVII (1903), 12.

Kent, there were "ij paynted clothes for ye sepulker & a fronte to hang under ye taperrs," and at Henningham, Essex, "a cloth for the sepulchre, with the ffrontlett of redd sylke." At St. Peter Cheap in 1527 there was "payd a Reward to Ambros Barkar's servante for lendynge of the clothe that henge abowte the sepulcre by consent was droppyd with candyll, ijs, iiij*d*."

While valance and "fronte" were probably tacked about the sepulchre in fixed positions, the sepulchre curtains, which are occasionally mentioned, seem to have been on wires or rods, so that they could be drawn. This is indicated by the first two of these three items of St. Margarets, Southwark, which Father Feasey cites, assigning them all to the year 1485. "Item ij blew Cortyns (to) draw afore the sepulture; iij Cortyns of launde to draw afore the sepulture on the ester holy days; Item a lytyll Cortyn of grene sylke for the hede of the sepulture."³⁸ In the accounts of St. Matthew, Friday Street, London, for 1547-48, is the item "Receyved of Mr. Beche for ij curtyns whiche hong about the sepulker, sold within the tyme of this accompt ix*s*."³⁹ At St. Michaels, Bedwardine, for 1547, is the item "for nayles and pynnes for the Sepulter on Palme Sondag and wyer for the Curteynes for the Sepulter at Easter, ij*d*," from which it would seem that here the sepulchre was adorned as early as Palm Sunday, probably to be borne in the procession of that day, but that the curtains were not put up until later. The following items of St. Michael Spurrier Gate, York, indicate a sepulchre that was a curtain-enclosed or cloth-enclosed 'house':

Pd for whyt Thred to the Parysh Clark for sewyng of Seynt Pulcure Howse & the Vestements, *id*.

Pd to John Carver for a Day & Di. mending of Seynt Pulcure Howse & for helping of ye Angells Wyngys & the Stawylls in the Church, & for di. Day helping of the Hamerrys [aumbries] in the Church, 1*s*.⁴⁰

Curtains seem to be a feature of the sepulchre not shared by the hearse and may well have constituted the characteristic difference between them, a difference due perhaps to the needs of the Good Friday and Easter ceremonies about the sepulchre.

In addition to sepulchre cloths, mention is found of a number of other adornments made of cloth. Most frequent of these were probably small banners and pennons. These constitute another similarity between the sepulchre and the hearse. In the accounts of St. Mary at Hill for 1426-7, among Easter expenditures, are the items "also payd for bokeram for penouns & for makynge, xxi*d*" and "Also payd for betyng & steynyng of the

³⁸ *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 476, 473.

³⁹ *Archaeolog. Journ.*, XXV, 365.

⁴⁰ John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England*, (1797), 316. The "angells Wyngys" may well have been for a sepulchre angel. The peculiar "Seynt Pulcure" for sepulchre, evidently a case of popular etymology, was quite common in parts of England. It indicates that 'sepulchre' was accented on the second syllable.

same penouns, vis."⁴¹ At Faversham, Kent, in 1512, thirty-seven small banners of silk were provided for the sepulchre and the paschal.⁴² At St. Nicholas, Bristol, in 1543-4 is the entry "Item pd to fyngall ffor his hondy worke to ley the gold apon viij Smale stremereys ffor the Sepulker, viijs."⁴³

There was a girdle for the sepulchre at St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London and at Wing, Buckingham;⁴⁴ and in 1390 a parishioner bequeathed to the sepulchre in Blyth, York, "j zonam cum argento harnesatam."⁴⁵ At Minster-in-Sheppy there was a "stole of red sendall." Lady Bardolph, wife of the Chamberlain to Henry VI, left to Dennington Church, Suffolk, "a purple gown with small sleeves to adorn the easter Sepulchre there."⁴⁶ In 1500 Henry Wilyams bequeathed to the church of Stanford, Northamptonshire, "my coverlet for the use of the sepulcre."⁴⁷ Occasionally beds were bequeathed, doubtless tester-beds with their hangings. Several examples are given by Father Feasey.⁴⁸ One case is particularly interesting in that it shows the close relationship between sepulchre and hearse: Elizabeth Hatfield, of Hedon, York, bequeathed to her parish church in 1509 her arras bed to be used to cover her tomb on the year's mind and to adorn the sepulchre at Easter: "Eccl. par. meae j ares-bed, ea intentione quod quolibet anno die obitus mei cooperuerit super sepulcrum meum et mariti mei, et ad ornamentum sepulcri Domini tempore Paschali et Sacramenti, dum valet et durabit."⁴⁹

7. *Angels and Other Figures*

Several items and allusions are found to angels about the sepulchre. Father Feasey states:

From the inventories it would seem to have been customary in some places after the removal of the Sacred Host to set carven angels either within or at the door of the sepulchre.⁵⁰

and then he gives a few items mentioning angels, two "of tre gilt" at St. Margaret Pattens, four at St. Peter Cheap, six at St. Margaret, Southwark. But the items cited afford no evidence for his statement that the angels were

⁴¹ It will be seen that the beating with gold and the "staining," i.e. the painting, cost more than three times as much as the material and the making. The "banners and pendants" for the hearse of Thomas Savage, Archbishop of York, of sarcenet, painted, cost the large sum of vijli, ijs, ijd. *Surtees Society*, LIII, 321.

⁴² Feasey, *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 476.

⁴³ *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, VI, 56.

⁴⁴ The date of the Wing item seems to be 1527 and not the rather improbably late 1565, which Feasey gives (*Eccl. Rev.*, 477), see *Archaeologia*, XXXVI, 222.

⁴⁵ *Surtees Society*, IV, 143.

⁴⁶ Feasey, *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 478.

⁴⁷ *Archaeolog. Journ.*, (1913), 229.

⁴⁸ *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 475.

⁴⁹ *Surtees Society*, V, 2. A note of the editor states that this use of ornamented beds was common in Hull and its neighborhood.

⁵⁰ *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 495.

not set in position until after the removal of the Host on Easter morning, and I know of no evidence of this from the inventories and none from any other source except from the South German poet Naogeorgus, thus translated by Barnabe Googe in 1570:

The Image and the breade from out the grave (a worthie sight)
They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white.

The angels had sometimes, but not always, the position stated by Father Feasey, within or at the door of the sepulchre. At St. Peter Cheap it is expressly mentioned that the four angels belonged to the "herse" or frame; they were probably on posts at its four corners. St. Stephen, Coleman St., London, had a wealth of angels, "iiij Angell for to be set onn the posts," and "j angyll to be set in the dore," as well as "iiij grete angell to be set onn the sepulchre wt dyuers (diverse) smale angell." When, as at St. Stephens and doubtless at St. Peter Cheap, angels were set on the posts, they would in all probability be put in position when the sepulchre was set up on Good Friday. At St. Mary at Hill in 1518-9 was an expenditure "to a smyth for hokes and staplis for the iiij Angelles on ye sepulcre," and a Yarmouth item is for mending an angel standing at the sepulchre.⁵¹ At St. Mary, Dover, in a joint payment for various Easter expenditures, there are included "Angelle tapers," and in the accounts of St. Nicholas, Bristol, there is mention once a year of two "angel-tapers" or "two tapers for the angels."⁵² These tapers were probably held by images of angels about the sepulchre.

An occasional sepulchre was even more elaborately beset with figures. Often quoted is the description of the Sepulchre of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, of 1470, with its image of God Almighty, its "Heaven made of timber and stayned clothes," its hell with "Divils to the number of thirteen," its four knights, its Holy Ghost, etc.⁵³ It is, however, quite possible that all this was not, as generally assumed, for the regular Easter sepulchre, but was for a Resurrection play. It has not, I believe, been pointed out in support of this that the angels were apparently to be human beings and not figures, since the consignment delivered by "Master Canynges" included merely wings and wigs for the angels: "Item, four pair of angels' wings for four angels, made of timbre, well paynted, . . . Item, longeth to the four angels, four chevelers (wigs)." The above mentioned sepulchre of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, had in addition to its numerous angels, "iiij knyghts to be set onn the posts before the dore." It may be of interest to insert here all the items concerning the St. Stephens sepulchre and its

⁵¹ Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 811.

⁵² For St. Mary, see Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 167, for St. Nicholas, *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, VI, 54.

⁵³ For full description, see Feasey, *Holy Week Ceremonial*, 148; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, II, 206.

appurtenances, as a type of an elaborate Easter sepulchre. The items are from an inventory of 1466.⁵⁴ Under the heading "Sepulchre" are grouped the following:

Itm j sepulchre ouer gyldyd, wt j frame to be set onn wt iiij posts and crysts ther to.
 Itm iiij trestell to haue the sepulter downe wt iiij ironys to bere ht up wt.
 Itm iiij Angell for to be set onn the posts wt iiij sences, ij gyldyd and ij not gyldyt.
 Itm iiij grete angell to be set onn the sepulchre wt dyuers smale angell.
 Itm ij steyned clothes wt the apostoll and the prophets bettyn wt golde wt the crede.
 Itm viij bar'es bettyn wt golde to be set abowte the sepulchre wt dyuers smale pynons (pennons).

Itm iiij knights to be set onn the posts befor the dore. Itm j angyll to be set in the dore.

A few other items enumerating objects connected with the sepulchre are put under other headings; under "Canapeys" "Itm j canape steyned wt a sonn of golde to heng over the sepulchre at estire;" Under "Juelis" (jewels) "Itm the resurrecon of our lorde wt the avyse in hys bosum to put the sacrament ther in," evidently an image of Christ, with a hole in the breast for the Host, to be "buried" in the sepulchre, as at Durham and elsewhere; under "pevtur" (pewter) "Itm xxij disshes for the sepulchre and ij disshes for the pascalle wt Cordes that pertainis ther to," evidently hanging basins for the tapers.

8. *The Sepulchre Canopy*

The canopy seems to have been a not infrequent feature of the sepulchre, although probably not so common as J. K. Bonnell's study assumes. I have found two references to a canopy *over* the sepulchre, viz. the one just cited "to heng over the sepulchre at estir" at St. Stephens, and an item of Christ Church, Bristol, "for a small corde to staye ye canabye over ye sepulchre"; two references to a canopy *for* the sepulchre, viz. a payment to John Pleyter at Pilton "for makyn of a canopy for ye sepulcor" and a payment at St. Stephens, Walbrook, London, for "paypur, nayles & paynt p' le sopokeyr canope";⁵⁵ and three references not mentioning the sepulchre but found along with sepulchre items, viz., one from an inventory of Dame Agnes Hungerford "Item a canabe, . . . with all sylke thynke (things) belonging to the sepulker"; one at St. Peter Cheap, "Item j canopy steyned with iiij staves and iiij boles of golde and iiij faynes and j cloth for the sepulchre staynede"; and one at Wandsworth "Item payd ffor iiij staffes ffor ye Canype xvid." It is probable in the last two of these cases (and possible in some of the others) that the canopy was not over the sepulchre but was the usual processional canopy, held by the "iiij staves" and carried over the Sacrament while it was being borne to or from the sepulchre.

Reference has been made several times to Bonnell's theory that both the Easter sepulchre and the sepulchre of Christian art stood in close rela-

⁵⁴ *Archaeologia* (1887), 34 f.

⁵⁵ Heales, *Archaeologia*, XLII, 298.

tion to the architecture of the high altar.⁵⁶ His argument rests to a large extent upon the assumption that the canopy was characteristic of all three structures, the canopy he assumes being of the ciborium type resting on pillars. In his conclusion⁵⁷ he states that the Easter sepulchre, if his theory is accepted, was characteristically a little structure comprising a canopy supported by pillars (usually four), and capable of being enclosed with curtains or rich hangings, and that about this little sepulchre-house there was sometimes placed a frame to support lights and keep back the devout. These conclusions present, I think, an incorrect picture; and the argument upon which they are based seems to me to involve two misapprehensions, one as to the nature of the altar canopy in the period in question and the other as to the nature of the sepulchre canopy. The type of altar which Bonnell discusses and upon which he builds up his argument is the early Christian type with its ciborium (i. e. its dome of masonry supported by pillars) and with its rods and curtains that could be drawn inclosing the space within the pillars, a type however which did not prevail in England, France or Germany during the period in which the Easter sepulchre developed. As Camille Enlart says:

L'église grecque et d'Italie ont conservé l'usage du ciborium durant tout le moyen Âge. Dans d'autres contrées il est très exceptionnel après le X^e siècle.⁵⁸

Thus the canopy on pillars, while not unknown, was a very uncommon type, the more usual type of altar canopy being the flat tester canopy of wood or cloth, suspended by wires or chains from above or held by iron rods from the side wall.⁵⁹ This seems also to have been the type placed occasionally over the Easter sepulchre, as indicated by the canopy at St. Stephens "to heng over the sepulcure" and at Bristol the small cord "to staye ye canabye over ye sepulcre." At Great Yarmouth there were two pulleys over the sepulchre in the chancel roof⁶⁰ which may well have been for the canopy. There remain, however, the facts that altar and sepulchre had occasionally a canopy of the same type and each had lights and cloths upon or about it; but these are common means of adornment and of showing honor and do not seem to me to be convincing evidence that the sepulchre developed in imitation of the high altar. Certainly the resemblances between sepulchre and altar are not so close and specific as those between sepulchre and hearse, which are pointed out at various places in the course of this chapter. It seems to me that the English Easter sepulchre developed very largely in imitation of the church burial of persons of rank.

⁵⁶ I have attempted in chapter IV to show that the altar was without appreciable influence upon the sepulchre of Christian art.

⁵⁷ *Publications of Mod. Lang. Assoc.* (1916), 712.

⁵⁸ *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, I, 742.

⁵⁹ See Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric*, 25.

⁶⁰ Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 811.

9. *Sepulchre Lights*

Lights formed an important feature of the Easter sepulchre. They were mostly wax tapers. Although one was all that the rubric required, there were usually more. The use of Sarum provides for a light before the sepulchre, that of Hereford for one in it. Twelve tapers are mentioned a number of times, symbolizing the disciples, or thirteen, with one larger than the rest, for Christ and the disciples. At Heybridge, in the twenty-first year of Henry VIII, the bachelors provided nine tapers and the maidens nine for the sepulchre. At St. Edmunds, in 1468-9, there were ninety-seven, set on pins of beech and ash, "*Joh'i Russhe Turner pro factura xlvij pynys de Beche & Asshe ad standum supra sepulcur' pro cera ibidem ardente, xvij*d*.*" At St. Stephens, as we have seen, there were twenty-two hanging basins for sepulchre lights. At St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in 1536-8, there was a payment of xvij*s*, ix*d* "for the makying of the Sepulcre lights at Ester with great lights and midle lights wth dyverse tapers as it dothe appere by a bill there of maide." At St. Mary at Hill, in 1499, there was a payment for "a lampe and for tentyr hookes to the sepulcre." At St. Margarets, Southwark, four long cressets and four short ones were used "for to sett the lighte aboote the sepulture on good fryday, peynted rede with yrons to the same." The term "sepulchre light" was used in a collective sense for all the lights, as in the following items of St. Nicholas, Bristol:

1521-2. Item ffor a borde to worke the sepulcur light apon, iiij*s*, xj*d*.

1531-32. Item payd for pynys & the mending of that the sepulcre light hangyth on, ij*d*.

1540-41. pd ffor vj yardes canwas to make a clothe to covyre the sepullkere lyght, xxj*d*.

There were often wardens of the "sepulchre light" and in various places guilds to care for the lights and collect the money to keep them up. Medieval wills contain innumerable bequests for the maintaining of sepulchre lights.

As in the church burial most of the tapers were set upon the hearse, so the sepulchre lights seem to have been mostly on the frame. At St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1549, there was "Rec'd of Mr. Bell for the sepulcre & frame for tapers thereto annexid, x*s*." An early description of Long Melford Church tells of "a fair painted frame of timber to be set up about Maundy Thursday, with holes for a number of fair tapers to stand in before the sepulchre." Medieval pictures of hearses show candles in holes, as well as upright on crossbeams, evidently on pins, or prickets. Both of these methods were used about the sepulchre, as we see from Long Melford and from the above mentioned pins of beech and ash at St. Edwards.

It is probable that the lights usually burned, at least during the daytime, from Good Friday to Easter Sunday. In 1487 Richard Meryweather of Sibertswold left a bequest of two sheep "to the support of 8 tapers burning before the Sepulchre at Easter until the last Mass on Easter



FIG. 20. PERMANENT SEPULCHRE IN THE CHURCH AT NEUWEILER, ALSACE.
LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

day."⁶¹ The will of Alice Bray of Chelsfield contains, however, the following: "I will a taper of iij*li* wex to bren before the sepulture of ouer lorde wt in the said church at the tyme of Easter that is to saye from Goodefridaye to Thursdaye in the Ester weke to be brennyng at tymes convenyant according as other lightes be wonte and used to be kept there about the sepulture."⁶²

10. *Watching the Sepulchre*

The sepulchre having been set up and dressed, the cross and Host buried in it, and the lights lit, it became doubtless during the daytime a place of prayer and devotion, while during the two nights from Friday to Sunday, it was watched, usually by paid watchers. The number seems to have varied from one to four; the sums paid range from ijd to ijs. Often it was the "Clarke"; at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, it was the "Clarke" and the "Fryer"; at St. Helen's Abington, the "sextin" in 1557, the "bellman" in 1558. Payment was usually recorded for bread and drink for the watchers and for coals to keep them warm. At Lichfield three persons are said to have kept unbroken vigil singing psalms, while at Eton College three or four of the elder scholars used to take the watch in turn, probably singing or reading the psalter, as did the scholars at Augsburg.

11. *Taking Down the Sepulchre*

There are entries of payments for taking down the sepulchre ranging in amount from ijd at Worksop, in 1547, to xijd at St. Mary at Hill, in 1559. As nails were used largely in setting up the sepulchre, it is probable that it often suffered some damage in being taken down. This may well be the reason for its frequent need of repair. So well recognized was this need that bequests for it were frequently made.⁶³ The sepulchre, after being taken down, was stored away until the following year. According to Nichols⁶⁴ there was at St. Mary at Hill, London, in 1516, a payment of 13s 4d "in part for a chest to lay the sepulchre in." In an inventory of St. Mary at Hill in 1553 occurs "Item, more in the Roud loft, a long Chist with the fframe of the Sepvllev [r?] in yt."⁶⁵ At Yarmouth there is an item for a new house in the vestry to put the sepulchre.⁶⁶ The Sarum Customary gives the time of removal as follows: "Die ueneris in ebdomada pasche ante missam amou-eatur sepulchrum." This fits in quite well with the above cited bequest for a light to burn until Thursday of Easter week. The bequest cited for lights to burn only through Easter Sunday at Sibertswold suggests an earlier removal there.

⁶¹ *Testamenta Cantiana*, 307.

⁶² *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, III, 248.

⁶³ See *Archaeol. Journ.*, N.S., 20 (1913), pp. 228, 308, 360.

⁶⁴ *Illustrations*, 107.

⁶⁵ See Littlehales, *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, *Early Engl. Text Soc.*, (1905), 53.

⁶⁶ Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 811.

CHAPTER IX

PERMANENT ARCHITECTURAL OR SCULPTURAL SEPULCHRES OF THE CONTINENT AND ENGLAND

Early in the middle ages circular or polygonal structures, built in imitation of the rotunda over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, became popular. These were churches, such as Neuvy-Saint-Sepulcre in France, dating from 1045, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of Cambridge, England, or they were side chapels of churches, as the *Moritzkapelle* of the Cathedral of Constance, or small independent chapels, often in cemeteries,¹ such as the *Michaelskapelle* of Fulda, which dates back to 820. On the continent sculptural representations in stone of the sepulchre itself were generally placed in these circular chapels, and later in other side chapels, and often out in the churches themselves. Those that have been preserved are chiefly of the late middle ages, especially the fifteenth century. The moment usually represented is after the Entombment; the body of Christ lies stretched out on top of a sarcophagus, like the effigy on ordinary chest tombs of that time; behind are the Maries, at each end usually an angel, and in front, generally in relief on the front side of the sarcophagus, the sleeping guards (see Fig. 20). These "heilige Gräber" are especially common in South Germany, along the upper Rhine, in Alsace, and in Saxony, but are found occasionally elsewhere, both in Germany and France.² These monuments were doubtless adorned at Easter time with cloths and candles, and became the scene of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, where these ceremonies were in vogue. Occasionally the outstretched image of Christ has a hole in the breast in which the Host was doubtless placed in the *Depositio*. When there was no such hole, a temporary coffer was probably used, or, if the later exposition rite had developed, a monstrance. These "heilige Gräber," although representing a time after the burial, are very similar to the real Entombment scenes, which, sculptured in stone, are occasionally found in continental churches, especially in France. In these there is the same outstretched figure of Christ, lying upon or being lowered into a

¹ For Germany, see Bergner, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstatertümer in Deutschland* (1905), 69 and 361. For a list of French round or polygonal *chapelles funéraires* see C. Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, I, 792.

² For a considerable list, see an unsigned article "Die heiligen Gräber in der Karwoche" published in *Kirchenschmuck*, 1862; also Otte, *Kunst-Archaeologie*, I, 365; also "Heilige Grabkapellen oder Nachbildungen des Grabes des Erlösers, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Tyrol, in *in Kunstfreund* (1899), 81-86 and 89-93. There were such monuments in the *Abbaye de la Prée*, near Issoudon, and at Bourges, France, (see *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictines*, I, 23 and 24) and in the church of St. Nicholas at Troyes, (*Ibid.*, I, 93) also in the crypt of the Jerusalem Church at Bruges (See *Notes and Queries*, March, 1918, p. 79).

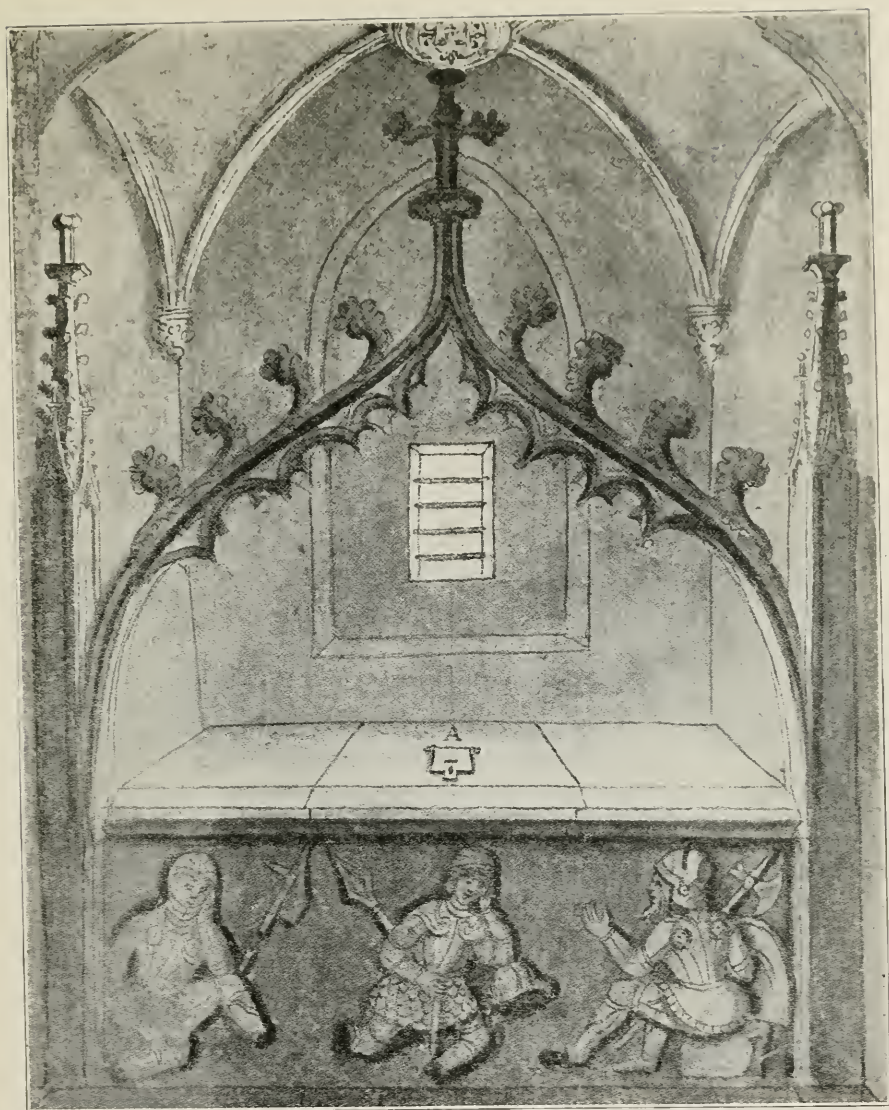


FIG. 21. SEPULCHRE IN A CHAPEL OF THE FORMER JOHANNITER KIRCHE,
BASEL, SWITZERLAND

coffer-tomb and about the tomb are the sorrowing Maries and other figures. Here however the act of burial is represented, with Joseph of Arimathea at one end of the tomb and Nicodemus at the other.

In England, as stated below, the permanent Easter sepulchres are without images of Christ. They are usually arched recesses with plain level bases. I know of no continental sepulchres of this English type still preserved. However there was one in a chapel of the former *Johanniterkirche* in Basel, as may be seen from an eighteenth-century drawing that has been preserved (see Fig. 21). It had a small receptacle, hewn in the stone and provided with an iron lid and lock. This, called by Buchel, the eighteenth-century artist, the "Gotteskasten,"³ was doubtless for the Host.

In a chapel of the church at Mittelzell, on the Island of Reichenau, there is a sort of Gothic grating enclosing a square space called "das heilige Grab." Down a few steps in this space is a coffin-like chest with wooden lid, too small for a life-size figure but large enough for a crucifix or a fairly large image.⁴ In the circular *Moritzkapelle* of the Cathedral of Constance is a small octagonal Gothic structure enclosing a Holy Sepulchre.⁵ The figures here include not only an angel, two guards and the three Maries, but also, in cap and gown and standing before a small table or counter, Doctor Ypocras, of whom the Maries buy their ointment. Of particular interest in view of the relation between altar and sepulchre of Christ, is a table-altar in the *Grossen Gasten Museum* in Dresden. This has below, between the corner pillars, the sepulchre, with outstretched body and the three Maries, while a sleeping soldier leans against each of the two pillars.⁶ If used in the *Depositio*, the receptacle for the deposit of Host or crucifix would in this case probably be on the altar table above the sepulchre. As we have seen, "heilige Gräber," for the exposition, rather than the burial of the Host, are still arranged at Easter time in many parts of Germany and Austria. Use is doubtless made of the permanent sepulchre if there is one; otherwise a temporary imitation or suggestion of the tomb is used.⁷

³ See E. A. Stüchelberg, *Die Verhörung des heiligen Grabes*, in the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, I, 114. Buchel's description is as follows: "Abzeichnung des Heiligen Grabs in einer Kapelle der Johanniter Kirche. . . . A der auf dem Grab in Stein ausgehauene Gotteskasten, mit einem eisernen Deckel verschlossen, den man mit einem Malenschloss beschliessen kann, in geviert 5½ Zoll gross, das Grab ist über 6 Schuh lang, die Figuren daran sind erhaben in Stein und bey Alter sehr presthaft und verstossen."

⁴ This resembles the previously mentioned Scandinavian sepulchre, (see Fig. 17).

⁵ Often reproduced, among other places in Bergner, *Kunstaltertümer*, 361. The figures within it are reproduced in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, LX, 130, Tafel V. (Kinkel).

⁶ Reproduced in Bergner, p. 260.

⁷ Modern German discussions of the subject usually include suggestions for the design of the sepulchre; Karl Atz, in an article on *Das heilige Grab in der Karwoche*, in *Kunstfreund* (1906), 40, suggests a chest-shaped shrine, open in front, with a tabernacle built over it for the Host.

While the typical permanent sepulchre of the continent resembles thus a complete Entombment scene, that of England is only a base or pedestal formerly used for the temporary sepulchre coffer but very often without any sculptured figures. These so-called Easter sepulchres are of two types, the one being built solely for Easter purposes, the other being also the tomb of the donor. The former might be subdivided into: (1) the simple walled recess; (2) the richly carved vaulted enclosure (the difference between these two being, however, only in the degree of architectural elaborateness); and (3) carved stone chest-tomb serving only Easter purposes.

The earliest kind is the simple walled recess, although none of these are earlier than the thirteenth century.⁸ They are of various sizes and shapes, often rather low and broad, and not infrequently on the floor level. An example of the thirteenth century is at Twywell, Northants.⁹ Among other examples are those at Middleton, Lancashire;¹⁰ St. Martin's, Canterbury; Bottesford, Lincolnshire; and Orpington, Kent.

The richly carved vaulted Easter sepulchres are of the so-called Decorated period of Gothic, which developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of these the finest are those at Hawton, Sibthorpe, and Arnold, in Nottinghamshire; at Heckington, Lincoln Cathedral, Navenby, and Horbling, in Lincolnshire; at Northwold, Norfolk; at Bampton, Oxfordshire; at Patrington, Yorkshire; and at Withybrook, Warwickshire.¹¹

The carved stone chest-tomb is a type that has usually been overlooked.¹² The known examples, which are not numerous, are all of the fifteenth century and are in West Somerset churches. It was made to stand in the northeast corner of the chancel and hence only the south and west sides were ornamented.¹³

In the course of the fifteenth century arose the practice of making a tomb for the burial of the donor, with the object also of serving as a base for the Easter sepulchre. Its Easter purpose is sometimes indicated by a sculptured Resurrection and soldier guards at the back of the canopy arch that usually covered it. Interesting directions for these are found in early wills, as for instance in that of John Pympe (1496), of Nettlestead, Kent, who desires to be buried in the parish church "before the Image of oure

⁸ Feasey, *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 346, states that this type is found on the continent, for instance at Subiaco, Italy.

⁹ Reproduced in Francis Bond's *The Chancel of the English Churches* (1916), 226. This work contains excellent illustrations of Easter sepulchres, sixteen in number.

¹⁰ Reproduced, *ibid.*, 228.

¹¹ Of these Bampton, Lincoln Cathedral, Navenby, Hawton, Heckington, Patrington and Northwold are reproduced by Bond; Sibthorpe and Arnold by Cox and Harvey (*Engl. Church Furniture*, 76 and 77).

¹² *English Church Furniture*, p. 76.

¹³ For examples see Cox and Harvey, *ibid.*, 76. One at Porlock is reproduced by Bond, p. 230.

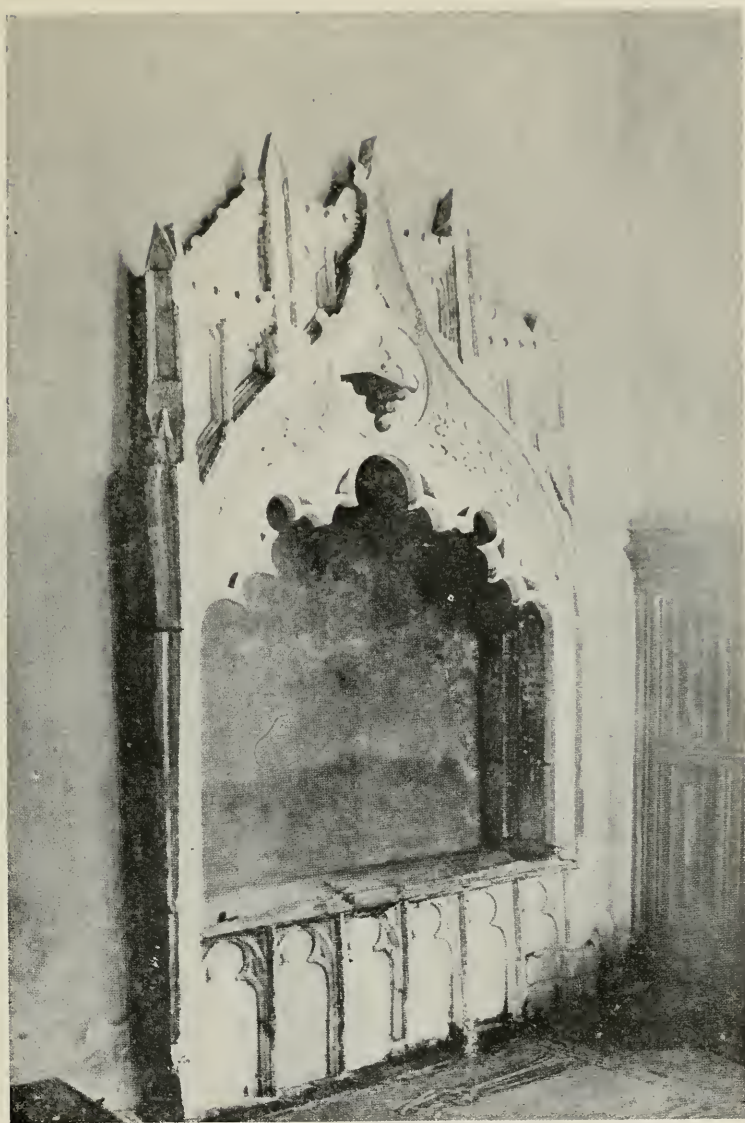


FIG. 22. PERMANENT SEPULCHRE AT CRANLEY, ENGLAND

blessed lady in the place where as the sepulture of oure lorde is wounte to stonde at the Fest of Ester and to be leyde there in a tombe of stone, made under such fourme as the blessed sacremente and the holy crosse may be leide upon the stone of the said tombe in the maner of sepulture at the Feest abovesaide."¹⁴

As we have seen before, the English Easter sepulchres have a uniform location in the north side of the chancel. Although many of these architectural structures have carved figures of soldiers, Maries, angels, Resurrection scenes, or symbols of the Passion, to establish their connection with the Easter ceremonies, yet in the case of structures of a similar character, but without such figures, this location may be considered sufficient evidence of their use for Easter purposes.

Some of the stone Easter sepulchres still show traces of original coloring. This is true of the one from Cranley, reproduced here.¹⁵ A list of eight sepulchres showing traces of coloring (in which list Cranley is omitted) is given by C. D. Keyser,¹⁶ who does not hesitate to assert that the mouldings and the sculptures of practically all were formerly enriched with decorative coloring. It is thus necessary to include, in one's mental picture of many of the more elaborate Easter sepulchres, the brightly colored Gothic ornament and stone figures, in addition to the wealth of candles and richly painted or embroidered palls.

¹⁴ This and several other instances may be found in Feasey, *Eccl. Rev.*, 346 f, also in Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, III, 79. Of this type of tomb Major Heales says: "The fashion of erecting such structures to answer at once the purpose of an Easter sepulchre and a monument set in towards the end of the 15th century (though somewhat earlier instances may be found), and continued until the middle of the 16th century; it necessitated the horizontal surface on the top of the tomb being flat, and the monumental effigy is usually set in the wall-face above, all being generally covered by a stone canopy. (*Surrey Archaeol. Collections*, VII, 36.)

¹⁵ See Fig. 22. This is also true of some on the continent, including the one reproduced in Fig. 20.

¹⁶ *A List of Buildings Having Mural and other Painted Decorations*, p. 356, also p. LXIV.

APPENDIX

TEXTS OF THE *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, AND *Visitatio*

This selection is limited to new or little known texts that have some features of interest. All but three or four of them are published here for the first time. For convenient reference the texts are arranged alphabetically by places. Most of them are based upon photographs of the manuscripts; a few are transcriptions made more or less hurriedly some years ago. Where the latter is the case, introductory mention of the fact is made.

BAMBERG

MS lit. 118 (Ed. I, 19) of the Bamberg Library (formerly the Royal Library), *Directorium Breviarum et Missalis Bambergensis*, of the sixteenth century, contains the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* has been published in the *Zt. f. d. Alt.* LV, 55-56. The MS has a few marginal additions in later hands. These will be indicated either parenthetically in the text or in footnotes, although I have not been able to read some of them.

<Depositio.>

(f. 62^v) Quibus peractis (i.e. communion) subcustos ferat calicem magnam cum sacramento ("scilicet parvis hostiis que superfuerunt" has been crossed out) ad chorum sancti Petri ad sacristiam, precedentibus duabis candelis videlicet wandelkeren. Deinde fiet processio ad chorum sancti Georgii per ianuam decani ordine tali: primo due magne candelae dicte wandelkeren, deinde chorales vicarii et domini canonici, deinde duo candelabra argentea, deinde duo canonici subdiaconi ferentes thurribulum et aspersorium, deinde ferentur quatuor particule reliquiarum supra nominate, deinde quatuor ministrantes ("ad officium," crossed out), (f. 63^r) deinde sacerdos officians ferens sacramentum in monstrancia magna velata, ultimo duo summissarii ("supra nominati," crossed out) ferentes crucem eburneam cum casula sua ("deinde omnis populus," crossed out). Et incipitur per succentorem responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, versus *In pace*. Sacramentum in monstrancia cum quatuor particulis reliquiarum¹ ponatur in altari sancti Georgii, ut moris est,² et thurificetur et aspergetur. Et ponantur due candelae ardentes et diligenter seretur. Et crux eburnea mittatur foris ante capsam sancte Kunegundis. Post hoc cantetur responsorium *Sepulto domino*, versus *Ne forte*. Et hiis completis singuli dicant versus videlicet psalmos feriales submissa voce sine inceptione et sine *Gloria patri*.

<Elevatio.>

(f. 66^r) In die sancto pasce post undecimam horam noctis excitentur domini per edituos. Et convenient hora duodecima (changed to read "citra horam duodecimam") ante sacristiam

¹ "Supra dictis" is crossed out, and a marginal note is added enumerating the "particule reliquiarum," of which I have only been able to read a part ("... cruce cum digito . . . et plenariis").

² A marginal addition reads: "Introgressus subtus altare subcustos recipiat monstranciam cum venerabili sacramento ex manibus domini officiantis, et post (?) officians pariter (?) introgressus per eundem." The two words followed by question marks are somewhat doubtful.

sancti Viti. Episcopus aut officians cum ministrantibus induat se ornamentis sacerdotalibus albis. Et ordo processionis erit talis: primo duo scolares ferentes duo vexilla, deinde duo scolares ferentes duas magnas candelas, wandelkerzen, deinde duo scolares ferentes duas cruces argenteas, deinde duo ceroferarii cum candelabris argenteis et candelis ardentibus, omnes induti cappis, deinde quatuor domini canonici capitulares subdiaconi, duo ferentes (f. 66^v)thurribulum et caldare, et alii duo plenaria optima, induti cappis rubeis melioribus, deinde ministrantes, deinde officians, deinde chorales vicarii et domini canonici. Et si episcopus fuerit officians, tunc ipse sequitur processionem cum infula et baculo ("episcopali," crossed out). Et tunc cruces, ceroferarii, thurribula, plenaria, et ministrantes antecedant episcopum. Et processio procedit in absida ascendendo chorum sancti Georgii per ianuam decani vsque ad sepulchrum domini. Et episcopus vel officians intret sepulchrum et recipiet sacramentum cum summa reuerencia.³ Et tunc processio ordinetur tali modo: primo duo vexilla, deinde due candelae ("dicte wandelkerzen" has been added), deinde ("scolares," crossed out) chorales vicarii et domini canonici, deinde cruces argenteae, deinde duo ceroferarii cum candelis ardentibus, deinde duo thurribula, deinde duo plenaria, deinde ministri, deinde ("duo," crossed out) quatuor canonici seniores in religione sua videlicet vehen ("haben," crossed out) cappem induti ferentes reliquias videlicet clauem domini saluatoris ante sacramentum.⁴ Deinde episcopus vel sacerdos ferens sacramentum Eucharistie in magna monstrancia velata, ultimo duo summissarii portantes crucem eburneam cum stolis. Et crux ponatur ad locum consuetum.⁵ Et cantor incipiet submissa voce antiphonam *Cum rex glorie Christus* et cantetur vsque ad finem. Et processio exeat de choro sancti Georgii per ianuam prepositi et ascendat chorum (f. 67^v) sancti Petri per ianuam prepositi. Et vexilla et candelae ascendunt vsque ad summum altare. Et postquam officians ascendat ad altare, due cruces argenteae, duo ceroferarii et domini ferentes reliquias maneant stare apud officiantem in quolibet latere diuisum. Et finita antiphona *Cum rex glorie* sacerdos ponat sacramentum supra altare et descendat ante altare dicendo *Confiteor deo patri*, ceteris respondentibus. Et quando sacerdos dixerit orationem videlicet indulgenciam et remissionem, ascendet ad altare⁶ et recipiat sacramentum cantando tribus vicibus versum⁷ *O vere digna hostia*. Chorus finiet versum. Deinde chorus cantet alios versus scilicet *Cum surgit Christus tumulo* cum sequentibus. Et tunc presbiter ferat sacramentum venerabiliter ad sacristiam ponendo ad locum suum. Tunc cantor incipiet *Christ ist erstanden* ter resumendo.⁸ Deinde pulsentur matutine hora prima post medium noctis.

BESANÇON

I. MS 97 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Besançon is a recueil from various medieval manuscripts, made by Abbé Jean-Baptiste Fleury in the eighteenth century. Pages 1 to 97 are a copy of an *Ordinarium antiquum*

³ A marginal addition reads: "Post thurificationem per dominum episcopum aut officiantem factam, idem exeat. Et subcustos porrigat eidem venerabile sacramentum velatum."

⁴ A marginal note adds "paruam crucem" before the words "clauem domini saluatoris"; after them the words "in monstrancia et pacem" have been crossed out and a marginal note adds "pretiosum plenarium et pacem . . . (?)" After "pacem" three or four indistinct words.

⁵ Marginal addition: "Ante altare in gradibus in choro S. Petri."

⁶ A marginal addition reads: "Subcustos detegat velamen seu subtrahat, et . . . (?). . . episcopus vel officians discoopertum (MS has quite clearly "discoopertā") sacramentum eleuatum." Before episcopus is a doubtful word, presumably a verb.

⁷ "ympni" on margin, to follow "versum."

⁸ A marginal addition reads: "Subcustos iterum exponat sacramentum, et ponat ad alias particulas seu super patena super corporali, et reponat reliquias in monstranciam."

Ecclesiae Bisuntinae S. Joannis Evangelistae, the so-called Ritual of St. Prothade, written probably in the early twelfth century. It has been published but not in any easily accessible work. The following is the *Visitatio* from Fleury's copy.

<Visitatio Sepulchri>

(p. 59) Incipit Ordo In Die S. Paschae. Antequam pulsantur Matutinae decoretur Ecclesia lumine, veniantque duo Acholyti cum cereis ante Cameram Archiepiscopi, et stantes ad ostium dicant Ant. *Surrexit Dominus*. Qua finita, pulsantur Matutinae et cantentur cum summa veneratione. Hoc enim praevideant Aeditui, ut ita temperate surgant, ut in nocte incipiantur, et in nocte finiantur.

Archidiaconus qui debet Evangelium pronunciare indutus Dalmatica festivo more veniat et duo Acolyti praecedant cum Caereis; duo cum turibulis; finita Lectione, Diaconus ad Sacrarium redeat, duo Sacerdotes in albis cappis induti accipiant turribula et offerant incensum super altare. Similiter fiat ad unumquodque Responsorium. Finito tertio Responso, non statim incipitur *Te Deum*, sed fit quoddam intervallum, et statim Diaconi duo induti Dalmaticis sedent juxta altare et veniunt tres clerici é Sacratio induti capis albis tenentes turribula, et venientibus illis statim illi Duo incipiunt *Quem quaeritis in Sepulchro, o Christicolae*, et illi tres (p. 60) *Jesum Nazarenum quaerimus crucifixum, o Coelicolae*. Tunc illi duo *Surrexit, non est hic, sicut praedixerat, ille nunciale quia surrexit*. Et illi tres jungant se ad Chorum et dicant Antifon *Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia, allel., allel.* Tunc Episcopus intonat *Te Deum laudamus*, et finiuntur Matutinae ordine suo.

II. MS 98 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Besançon, *Ordinarium ecclesiae Sancti Stephani Bisuntini*, of the middle of thirteenth century, has the following *Visitatio Sepulchri*. It has no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*. Under the description of the manuscript in the catalog is the following: "Fol. 40 l'office dramatique du matin de Pâques . . . tres Maries se rendaient au tombeau et en rapportaient un suaire comme témoignage de la résurrection de Jésus. Ce suaire où figurait l'image du Christ mort, devint, au XVI siècle, une relique dont l'ostension amenait, deux fois par an, jusqu'à 30,000 personnes à Besançon."

<Visitatio Sepulchri>

(f. 40^r) In die sancto pasche ad matutinas fit sicut est consuetum. Quando tertia lectio dicitur, debent esse parati tres canonici in sacratio ad (f. 40)^v faciendum Marias et in modum hunc ornari. Primo debent habere amictos paratos super capita ita quod cooperiant frontes et dalmaticas albas et in manibus portantes fialas aureas uel argenteas et ita procedunt de sacratio post III responso, precedente cantore cum capa rubea et baculo, precedentibus cereis et turibulo, cantantes usque ad tympanarium et usque in choro bis aut ter: *Quis reuoluet*. Cum uenerint in medio choro, incipiunt ultimam uicem *Quis reuoluet nobis*, usque ante maius altare. A dextris et a sinistris altaris sunt duo pueri inducti admictis albis paratis, et super humeros alas habentes et capas plicatas rubeas super humeros circumdantes alas in modum quo ponunt diaconi stolas, respondent mulieribus sic: *Quem queritis* cantando. Et mulieres: *Jhesum nazarenum*. Et angeli: *Non est hic, surrexit*. Et discooperiunt altare angeli linteaminibus quibus erat altare uelatum. Et mulieres statim offerunt super altare fialas suas genu flexo, cantantes *Alleluia, surrexit dominus hodie* usque in choro in introitu. Tunc uenit cantor ad eas et dicit ad primam Mariam cantando *Dic nobis Maria quid uidisti in uia*; respondet prima: *Sepulchrum Christi*. Et altera que portat amictum sudarii sola dicit:

Angelicos testes, ostendens sudarium et uestes et angelos. Et tertia Maria dicit: *Surrexit Christus spes nostra*. Et cantor respiciendo chorum cantat: *Credendum est magis soli Marie*. Et chorus alta uoce: *Scimus Christum*. Interim redeunt Marie per uiam per quam uenerunt in sacrario cum omnibus suis adiunctis, et statim incipitur *Te deum* alta uoce, et chorales deuestiunt rubeas capas et uestiunt albas capas. Et chorus deponit capas nigras usquequo cantatum fuerit *Te deum*.

III. MS 99 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Besançon, *Liber ceremoniarum ecclesiae Bisuntinae Sancti Johannis Evangelistae*, of the middle of the fifteenth century, has the following *Visitatio Sepulchri*. It has no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*.

< *Visitatio Sepulchri* >

(f. 29^v) In die sancto pasche. Ad matutinas fit sicut est consuetum. Primum responso-rium debent dicere pueri, secundum responso-rium duo canonici in medio chori sine capis nigris, et tertium responso-rium III famuliares ante maius altare. Quando tertia lectio dicitur, debent esse parati tres canonici seu tres famuliares in capella sancti Eugendi ad faciendum Marias et in hunc modum ornari. Primo (f. 30^r) debent habere capitagia super capita ita quod cooperiant frontes et dalmaticas albas et in manibus portantes fialas aureas uel argenteas et ita procedunt de capella sancti Eugendi post III responso-rium, precedente cantore cum capa et baculo, precedentibus cereis et turibulo cum IIII torchiis, euntes usque ad altare sancte crucis et ibi uertant versus maius altare cantando in simul: *Quis reuoluet*, et in medio ecclesie et ad introitum chori incipiunt ultimam uicem. Interim sint parati duo pueri ad dextris et a sinistris altaris inducti admictis albis paratis et super humeros alas habentes et stolas rubeas super humeros circumdantes alas in modum quo ponunt diaconi, respondentes mulieribus sic: *Quem queritis* cantando. Et mulieres: *Jhesum nazarenum*. Et angeli: *Non est hic, surrexit*. Et discooperiunt altare angeli linteaminibus quibus erat altare uelatum. Et mulieres statim cantant *Alleluia, surrexit dominus hodie* usque ad maius altare et super altare offerunt fialas suas genu flexo. Post veniunt super gradus quelibet in loco suo, tunc uenit cantor ad eas et dicit ad primam Mariam cantando *Dic nobis Maria quid uidisti in uia*. Respondet prima: *Sepulchrum Christi*. Et altera que portat sudarium loco suo dicit: *Angelicos testes sudarium et uestes*. Et tertia Maria dicit: *Surrexit Christus spes nostra*. Et cantor respiciendo chorum cantat: *Credendum est magis totum*. Et chorus alta uoce: *Scimus Christum totum*. Et statim incipitur *Te deum* ab illo qui regit chorum et Marie redeunt in capella ut supra. Et chorus deponit capas nigras usquequo cantatum fuerit *Te deum*.

BIBERACH

The following is not a text, but a contemporary description of the Easter ceremonies at Biberach in the years just before 1531, when the city went over to the Reformation. The description is from a detailed account of the pre-Reformation Biberach church and its services, written evidently just after the Reformation (probably between 1531 and 1540) by an unknown writer, doubtless one who had belonged to the Catholic clergy of the city. It has been published by A. Schilling in the *Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv*, XIX, 127 f., under the title *Die religiösen und kirchlichen Zustände der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Biberach unmittelbar vor der Reformation, geschildert von einem Zeitgenossen*.

Vom Grab, da Vnnser Herrgott in ist gelegen.

Item. Neben dem Creüz bein Frawenstühlin da ist gestanden ein hüpschs, gemahlets, vergulds Grab. Da ist ein andechtiger Herrgott gelegen, verdeckht mit ainem Tünnen

Thuech, das man Vnnsern Herrgott darduch hat mögen sehen, den das grab ist vergöttert gesein. Sendt auch gewapnet Iuden daran gemahlet gesein; neben dem Grab sendt von Burgern vnd von Zünften grose Kerzen gesteckt, Tag vnd Nacht Brunnen, bis vnnser Herrgott erstanden ist.

Item. Zu beeden Orthen vnden vnd oben sendt schuoler, gesessen, haben Lötner vor Ihnen gehabt vnd psalter büecher, daraus sie Tag vnd Nacht den psalter wider einander gesungen vnd Nimmer aufgehört, man habe dann sonst ettwas in der Kirchen Thon, bis Vnnser Herrgott erstanden ist.

Item. Es ist auch ein beckhet beim Grab gestanden, darein hat man gellt gelegt; das gellt hat den den Armmen Schuoller vmb Gottes willen gehörrt, die da gesungen haben. Was auch reich Leüth vnd Burger sendt gesein, dis haben Ihnen ettwas zue essen vnd Trinckhen bracht vmb Gotten willen zue Ihrer Vnderhaltung.

Item. Man hat auch das recht Sacramendt in das Grab gehenckht, dasselbig Ahnzuebetten, bis Vnnser Herrgott erstanden ist. So hat man es den wider in das Sacramenthauss Thon.

Item. Die Leüth haben vil Liechtlin vor dem graab brenndt, nider Knüet, mit andacht vil da bettet.

Wie Vnnser Herrgott Erstanden Ist.

Item. Ahm Ossterabendt zue Mitternacht so hat man mit allen glockhen geleüth, das Vnnser Herrgott erstanden ist. Es haben auch die Blaser vff dem Kirchenthurn zue Mitternacht blaasen vnd pfeiffet "Christ ist erstanden."

Item. So es Zwelffe hat geschlagen, so ist der helffer Knommen vnd hat das Sacramendt wider vs dem grab thon vnd in das Sacramendthaus Tragen.

Item. So haben den die Schuoler, die beim grab haben gesungen, Vnnsern Herrgott vs dem grab genommen vnd In Drey Mahl vmb die Kirchen Tragen vnd Tetisch vnd Lateinisch gesungen: "Christ ist erstanden."

Item. Darnach so haben In ander Laiisch gesellen genommen vnd haben durch alle Gassen in der Statt vmbher Tragen vnd gesungen "Christ ist erstanden" vnd den wider in die Kirchen Tragen.

Item. Nach sollichem vmb Zway so hat man Möttin geleüth nach dem brauch, vnd ist den vnder der Mettin vs dem Chor heraus Gangen zue dem Grab mit der process mit dem Creüz, Fahnen vnd Stönglin. Da ist Vnnser Herrgott nimer da gesein, aber das Seide tuech, des ob Vnnsern Herrgott ist gelegen, das ist da gesein, da ist ahn eim Iegelichen orth ein schuollerlin in eim Chorhembtlin gestanden vnd haben das Seide Tuech vff gehebt, das man sehe, das Vnnser Herrgott nit mehr da seüe, vnd Latinisch gesungen vnd die ander schuoller auch wider einander; hat bedeüth, Alls die Marien Vnnsern herrngott bey dem Grab gesuoht haben. Vnd sendt den anders in den Chor Gangen vnd das Te deum Laudamus gesungen oder Loss Mettin nach dem brauch.

BRUSSELS

MS 4860 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique at Brussels, called in the catalogue a "Processional Romain" of the sixteenth century, has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. It has no *Visitatio*. I do not know the provenience of the manuscript. The texts are from a transcription made some years ago.

<*Depositio Crucis*>

(f. 93) Isto modo fit sepelitio domini in die sancto parasceues hora quarta post prandium ante matutinas. Primo dominis in stallis manentibus et responsorium *Recessit pastor* incipientibus, sacerdos descendet, precedentibus duobus iuuenibus cum tedis, et ponet crucem in

sepulchro. Quo finito et cruce in sepulchro posita, sacerdos incipiet responsorium *Sepulto domino*, ter cum thuribulo sepulchrum circumiens. Et post hoc iuvenes tenentes tedas cantabunt versum *In pace factus est locus eius* etc. Et sacerdos iuxta sepulchrum cantabit collectam sequentem *Oremus Respice quesumus domine super hanc familiam tuam pro qua dominus noster Iesus Christus non dubitauit manibus tradi nocentium et crucis subire tormentum.*

<Elevatio Crucis>

Isto modo celebrabitur resurrectio domini. Compulsatione facta, dominis et scholaribus circumstantibus sepulchrum, tedis crucibus et vexillis paratis, sacerdos accedet sepulchrum et ter illud circumibit thurificando et cantando hanc antiphonam. Antiphona, *O mors, ero mors tua, morsus tuus ero, inferne.* Quo facto denudabit crucem in sepulchro cantando quod sequitur scilicet *Exurge, quare obdormis, domine, exurge et ne repellas* in finem. Post hoc capiet crucem ex sepulchro cantando *Surrexit dominus.* Et fiet processio in ecclesiam more solito cum *Cum rex glorie*, ter ambiendo. Et post processionem in choro cantabitur *Victime paschali* more solito.

ESSEN

A *Liber Ordinarius* of Essen has interesting versions of the *Depositio*, *Elevatio* and *Visitatio*, to which several references have been made. This MS of the fourteenth century has been published by Franz Arens (*Liber Ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche*, Paderborn, 1908), but, as it is not easily accessible, the versions, slightly abridged, are reprinted here.

*De processione ad sepulchrum*⁹

Deinde fit processio ad sepulchrum cum scholaribus, qui ibi tunc presentes erunt, sic. Dyaconus cum cruce precedet, deinde scholares, deinde canonici cum reliquiis, deinde ceroferarii ante sacramentum, deinde sacerdos cum sacramento et subdiaconus cum pleonario iuxta eum, deinde conventus, ultimo populus. (62) Via. Et recedentibus inde itur per medium monasterii, exeundo per ianuam, que ducit ad scholas domicellarum et circuitur per ambitum circa pasculum, et reintratur monasterium per ianuam sub thronulo, et iterum per medium monasterii transitur ad modum crucis et apud altare sancti Petri per volatram versus ianuam funerum ascenditur superius ad sepulchrum, quod ante altare sancti Michaelis preparatum erit. Cantus. In hoc processione cantabit conventus in exeundo Responsorium: *Ecce, quomodo moritur iustus* etc. Quo finito clerici Responsorium: *Agnus Dei*, quod sequitur. (Complete words follow.)

Statio apud sepulchrum

Cum autem superius pervenitur ad sepulchrum, fit iterum statio talis. Ceroferarii manebunt extra tentorium, quod est supra (63) sepulchrum, prope tentorii introitum, dorsis positus versus sanctum Johannem facie versa ad altare. Scholares, transeuntes tentorium, manebunt ad partem aquilonarem, conventus ante altare facie versa ad sepulchrum, sacerdos vero cum ministris et omnibus aliis canonicis, qui reliquias portant, intrabunt intus in tentorium. Tunc aperto sepulchro scilicet archa in tentorio posita, in qua munda palla erit strata seu expansa, sacerdos flexis genibus ponat intus sacramentum, reliquias et pleonarium, et replicata palla desuper et thurificatione facta et reverenti inclinatione recludat archam clave assignando clavem thesaurarie ad reservandum postea. Qua clausa ponat seu expandat unam cortinam super sepulchrum scilicet archam, ponendo crucem super eam, capite crucis verso ad occidentem et desuper unam aliam cortinam, thurificatione sequente et inclinatione reverenti. Quo facto exhibunt ad alios clericos. Cantus: Et interim, quod hec intus aguntur, conventus canta-

⁹ Preceded immediately by directions for a procession "ad altare sancte Crucis," with which the ceremony of the *Depositio* really began.

bit responsorium: *Tenebre facte sunt* etc., quo finito clerici responsorium: *Sepulto Domino* . . . (complete)

Deinde sacerdos collectam: *Respice*, ut supra. Quo facto per aliam volatram versus aquilonem descendunt scolares, presbiter autem cum ministris et conventu per viam altam.

In nocte sancta Pasche

In nocte sancta Pasche circa mediam noctem convenientibus canonicis in monasterio omnes induentur cappis et ascendentes gradus prope summum altare transibunt per altum transitum, qui est versus meridiem usque ad sepulchrum, quod est apud altare sancti Michaelis, occurrente eis ibidem conventu, qui adveniet per alium altum transitum, qui est versus aquilonem. Statio. Et cum sic ad sepulchrum convenerint, conventus manebit foris extra tentorium, quod est supra sepulchrum. Canonici omnes intrabunt cum luminibus, ut videre possint, et thuribulo, et, flexis genibus et thurificatione facta, levabunt crucem, dyacono ipsam recipiente (79) et tenente; deinde, sepulcro aperto scilicet archa et iterum thurificatione facta et amota palla de sacramento et aliis reliquiis intus positis, presbiter recipiat sacramentum, subdyaconus pleonarium, alii alias reliquias, singuli singulas.

Cantus. Interim autem quod hec intus in tentorio peraguntur, conventus stans foris cantabit antiphonam: *Exsurge, Domine* etc.

De septem stationibus et processione

Tunc exeuntibus canonicis fit processio absque scolariis et septies statio, ut infra dicitur. Et iste erit ordo eundi: . . . (There follow quite full directions for the procession and the first station, "ad altare sancti Petri") . . . Secunda statio in cimiterio domicellarum. Cum autem ad cimiterium domicellarum pervenitur, ibi fit secunda statio juxta sepulchra domicellarum et fit sic: Conventus stabit apud murum monasterii, canonici apud murum abbatis ex opposito, se invicem respicientes. Tunc finito psalmo et orationibus conventus, abbatisa, si presens fuerit, sin autem, una alia canonica pro ea, ascendet libram seu asserem, in cujus una parte jacebit una perna et unus agnus et in alia parte stabit ipsa abbatisa seu vicaria ejus legens cum capellano suo canonico pro fidelibus defunctis psalmum: *De profundis*, sicut superius plenius notatum est in nocte Nativitatis Domini; ibi require. Tertia statio. Deinde itur ad summum altare, ibi erit tertia statio. Quarta statio. Quarta in choro domicellarum ante altare. Quinta. Quinta in cripta ad medium altare. Sexta. Sexta ad sanctum Stephanum ante criptam. Septima. Septima et ultima ad altare sancte Crucis. Qua statione ibi finita, dyaconus deponet crucem ante altare super pallam. Sacerdos reportabit sacramentum ad sacrarium, alii canonici reliquias cum pleonario ad summum altare. Processio. Quo facto canonici omnes exutis cappis redibunt in processione ad adorandum crucem, sicut fecerunt in Parasceve, offerentes ibidem. His omnibus finitis cantabuntur matutine.

De visitatione sepulchri

Finito autem tertio responsorio ante *Te Deum laudamus*, fit iterum statio communis per conventum, canonicos et scolares in medio monasterii ante candelabrum in sedilibus ibidem. Et nota, quod, quotiescunque in hoc loco fit communis statio, ut hodie, conventus semper manebit ad partem aquilonarem, canonici vero et scolares ad australem. (81) In hac autem statione omnes canonici erunt induti cappis preter duos, qui erunt angeli. Isti erunt induti dalmaticis albis super superpeliciis suis, ipsi etiam non ibunt cum aliis ad stationem nisi in fine, ut infra dicitur; sed statione se congregante, dicti angeli ibunt ad sepulchrum per chorum domicellarum et per tronulum et altum transitum, qui est versus aquilonem, et intrantes tentorium sedeant super sepulchrum, scilicet archam supradictam et habeant librum, in quo contineatur cantus, quem cantaturi erunt, si exterius nesciunt, et lumen, ut videre possint, expectantes tres Marias ad sepulchrum venturas, que Marie, scilicet tres canonice, per alium altum transitum, qui est versus meridiem, advenient.

Interim autem quod ipse Marie ad sepulchrum vadunt, conventus cantabit in statione antiphonam: *Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata, Dominum quærentes*

in monumento. Et cum Marie omnes tres conveniant, stabunt apud sepulchrum a longe, cantantes per iter hanc antiphonam: *Quis revolvat nobis ab hostio lapidem, quem legere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum?* Tunc angeli in sepulchro respondentes cantabunt hanc antiphonam: *Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumultu plorantes?* Tunc iterum Marie cantabunt hanc antiphonam: *Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus.* (82) Tunc angeli iterum respondendo contentent: *Non est hic, quem queritis, sed cito euntes nuntiate discipulis ejus et Petro, quia resurrexit Jesus.* Tunc quilibet Mariarum singulariter accedet ad tentorium respiciendo in tentorium una post aliam et dicendo ad angelos sic: *Ubi est Jhesus* vel similia verba. Angeli respondebunt sic: *Surrexit, non est hic* vel etiam similia verba. Quo facto Marie ascendentes per iter ad organa cantabunt hanc antiphonam: *Ad monumentum venimus trementes, angelum Domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem, quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Tunc statim duo alii canonici de statione unus senior et alius junior, loco duorum apostolorum Petri et Johannis, ibunt velociter ad sepulchrum per chorum domicellarum et altum transitum, per quem angeli iverant; sed junior vadat citius seniore et veniat prior ad monumentum. Interim istis apostolis sic euntibus clerici in statione cantabunt antiphonam: *Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus precucurrit citius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum.* Cum autem senior advenit ad juniorem apud sepulchrum, tunc ambo intrabunt in tento-(83)-rium et senior intrabit prior, licet posterior advenerit, tunc angeli tenentes et levantes aliquantulum pallam seu sudarium cantant hanc antiphonam: *Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est inventum.* Tunc unus apostolorum ascendet ad organa et versus ad stationem clamabit sic: *Christus Dominus surrexit.* Conventus respondebit: *Deo gratias!* Sic clamabit tribus vicibus primo in gravibus, secundo altius et tertio bene alte, et conventus respondebit ei toties in simili tono.

Quo facto populus cantat cationem teutonicam de resurrectione. Tunc hac catione finita cantrix incipiet: *Te deum laudamus* et conventus complebit primum versum, clerici secundum et sic de aliis usque ad finem vel, quod tamen hic prius non vidi, organa incipient et cantabunt primum versum, conventus secundum, clerici tertium, et sic de aliis. (Directions follow for the return of the apostles and the angels.)

FREISING

A *Breviarium Frisingense* from the monastery at Polling, now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (Cod. lat. 11768), has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. It has no *Visitatio* except the following rubric after the third responsory of Matins: "Et cum eo fiat processio ad medium ecclesie ad sepulchrum.

<Depositio Crucis>

(Fol. 73^v) Expleta communione corpus Christi reportetur ad locum priorem cum reuerencia et deuotione, deinde sepulcro preparato more solito tollatur crux et deferatur ad sepulchrum et cantetur responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*. Finito responsorio collocetur crucifixus in sepulchrum et lintheaminibus cooperiatur. Deinde lapis videlicet altare mobile sub capite seu sub dextro latere ponatur et sepulchrum claudatur et cantetur remisse responsorium *Sepulto domino*, versus *Ne forte veniant*, responsorium *Recessit pastor noster*, versus *Ante cuius*, et aspergatur etthurificetur sepulchrum et sequitur *In pace factus est*. Deinde incipiatur circa sepulchrum vespera subpressa voce.

<Elevatio Crucis>

(Fol. 75^v) In ipsa sancta nocte ante pulsacionem matutine custodes ecclesie surgant et ipsi uel eorum famuli vadant et excitant presbyteros et decanum ut veniant ad ecclesiam et, cum sic fuerint congregati, induantur cappis choralibus cum stolis more solito, sintque parata thuribula cum thure et mirra et aspersorio et sic presbyteri descendant de choro ad altare

sancte crucis et, cum sic ibidem existant, decanus uel quicumque alius maior, si decanus non sit ibi, dicat *Confiteor* et alii prespiteri dicant *Misereatur vestri*, et similiter ministri. Hoc finito ministri dicant *Confiteor*. Et ipse decanus dicat eis absolutionem sic *Misereatur vestri* (f. 76^r) more sacerdotis volentis dicere missam. Deinde decanus et seniores cum summa reuerencia et deuotione simul accedant ad sepulchrum et dicant psalmos stantes, psalmum *Domini quid multiplicati*, psalmum *Miserere mei deus*, psalmum *Deus misereatur*, psalmum *Domini probasti*, *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison*, *Pater noster*, *Et ne nos*, versum *Exurge domine*, versum *Domine deus virtutum*, versum *Domine exaudi orationem*, *Dominus vobiscum*, *Oremus Da nobis quesumus domine auxilium*, et thurificent et aspergant ymaginem crucifixi, sublatamque de sepulchro secum deferant ante altare sancte crucis, ibi ipsam collocando cantando humiliter submissa voce responsorium *Surrexit pastor bonus*. Versus *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*. Antiphona *Christus resurgens ex*. Et oratio *Deus qui hodierna die per vnigenitum*. Qua finita, stantes ante altare deuote vnus post alterum osculantes ymaginem crucifixi dicentes *Surrexit dominus*, *Gaudeamus omnes*. Deinde statim solempniter pulsetur matutinum.

FRTZLAR

A *liber chori*, or *directorium chori*, probably of the fifteenth century, formerly in Fritzlar, now in the Landesbibliothek of Cassel (MSS Theol. 2^o No. 99), has the following *Depositio* and *Visitatio*. The MS has also a rather brief *Elevatio*, of which I have no copy. These texts are from transcriptions made some years ago. The MS was unpaginated.

<Depositio Crucis et Hostiae>

Hora completorii conueniant domini ad sepulchrum in choro sollempniter preparatum. Quibus ante sepulchrum in simul congregatis, duo sacerdotes veniant de armario, indutis cappis preciosis, cum quatuor scolaribus duo thuribula et duas candelas accensas deferentibus. Et accedentes ponant in sepulchrum mundum pannum et desuper crucifixum et cum corporali tegant crucifixum. Et super corporale ponant pallam mundam. Et sub corporali pidxem cum corpore Christi recondant. Postea thuribula adhibeant. Et tam corpus Christi quam crucifixum thurificent. Et interim quod crucifixus cum corpore Christi ad sepulchrum deferitur et in eo quasi sepeliendo ponitur, sacerdotes et domini circumstantes cantabunt lenta uoce hec responsoria *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, responsorium *Sicut ouis ad occisionem*, responsorium *Agnus dei Christe*. Postea sacerdotes exeant sepulchrum et tegentes sepulchrum cantent responsorium *Sepulto domino*, versum *In pace factus est*. Collecta *Respice domine*. Deinde iuxta sepulchrum legatur psalmus completorii sub silencio absque *Gloria patri* hoc modo *Cum invocarem* cum ceteris, versus . . . (Here the MS has an erasure of about an inch). . . Collecta *Respice*. Et sic terminantur hore completorii et officium hodiernum . . .

<Visitatio Sepulchri>

Responsorium *Dum transisset*. Quo finito duo scolares sedentes in sepulchro cantent *Quem queritis o*. Tunc tres scolares induti cappis sericis uel uestibus mulieribus uenientes apud sepulchrum cum thuribulis et candelis accensis respondeant cantantes *Ihesum nazarenum*, fungentes officio Mariarum. Iterum scolares in sepulchro cantent *Non est hic*. Et statim surgentes in sepulchrum exeuntes sepulchrum discooperiant in parte illa ubi exeunt et habentes cooperimentum sepulchri in manibus cantent *Venite et videte locum*. Tunc tres Marie abeuntes et crucifixum accedentes paulatim cantent *Ad sepulchrum venimus gementes*. Quo finito statim stantes contra chorum et elevato crucifixo in altum cantent *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*. Postea cantor incipiat *Te deum laudamus*, versus *Noli flere Maria, alleluia. Deus in adiutorium*.

HALLE

MS lit. 119 (Ed. VI, 3) of the Bamberg Library, *Breviarium ecclesiae collegiatae Hallensis*, of the year 1532, has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* has been published in the *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, vol. 55, p. 56.

<Depositio Hostiae>

(f. 94^r) Finitis vespers, exhibunt e sacrario tali modo. Primo procedant camerarii (MS., Cămerarii), deinde duo pueri albis induti portabunt minora rubea vexilla sericea cum quinque vulneribus domini. Item alii pueri etiam albis induti portabunt duas cruces dominicales sine vexillis. Deinde sequuntur sedecim pauperes bini et bini, nigris vestibus de panno induti, cum luctu, et sedecim candelis, quarum quilibet habeat pondus decem librarum. Et pauperes et ea que pertinent ad cereos et vestes providebit reuerendissimus. Deinde iterum duo pueri albis induti duos cercos ardentes portabunt. Deinde decanus, cantor, et scholasticus in cappis nigris vsualibus et circumdatis rubeis stolis portabunt tria thuribula argentea maiora, ita quod decanus ibit in medio, cantor a dextris et scholasticus a sinistris. Postea sequitur prepositus etiam in nigra vsuali cappa et circumdatus stola. Cum venerint tali ordine in chorum, stabunt ante columnam paululum. Deinde ibit processio extra chorum ante capellam et retro summum altare per circuitum. Et exhibunt per ostium quo semper intratur ad chorum, et per ecclesiam vt singulis quintis feriis cum venerabili sacramento solitum esse fieri. Primo procedent camerarii (Ms., Cămerarii), deinde pueri cum vexillis, deinde chorales, vicarii, et domini, qui singuli in manibus cereum ardentem vt quintis feriis, quando dicitur missa de corpore Christi. Deinde pueri cum crucibus, postea pauperes bini et bini, iterum duo pueri cum candelis, deinde tres prelati cum thuribulis, postea prepositus. Et cum peruenerint ad venerabile sacramentum ante capellam, prepositus leuat sacramentum vertendo se ad chorum. Tunc prelati flexis genibus thurificant illud ter, et dabit benedictionem cum eo. Et immediate chorus incipit humili et bassa voce et morose can—(f. 94^v)—tare responsum *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* et circumeunt per ecclesiam vsque ad sepulchrum, vbi iterum prelati flexis genibus thurificant illud et prepositus benedictionem faciet, et flexis genibus reponet cum deuotione in sepulchrum thurificando et aspergendo et operietur, quia Ioseph inuoluit corpus domini in syndone munda. Post repositionem et finito responso dicitur flexis genibus humiliter ab omnibus psalmus *Miserere mei deus* cum versu *In pace factus est*, cum collecta *Respice*. Deinde claudetur sepulchrum. Et regredientes ad chorum cantant solemniter et leuata voce responsum *Sepulto domino*. Finito responso, immediate octo persone sacerdotes conducti in cappis nigris vsualibus, a duobus lateribus quattuor, incipient psalterium, quod nocte et die legent, nisi aliquod officium fiat in ecclesia. Et dabuntur eis pro laboribus eorum a reuerendissimo octo floreni in moneta, et per hos dies mensa a dominis. Et pauperes super aderunt quando legitur psalterium et quando celebrantur diuina. Et dabuntur eis a reuerendissimo sedecim floreni, et a dominis mensa.

<Elevatio Hostiae>

(f. 97^r) In sancta nocte pascatis ad matutinas. Infra decimam et vndecimam fiet signum cum tabula, primum ad conuocandum, secundum ad incipiendum. Ante inceptionem matutarum prelati, canonici, vicarii et chorales in choro conuenient, vbi prepositus induitur meliori alba aurea cappa et stola, decanus meliori sammitta aurea cappa, cantor et scholasticus albis damascenis cappis auro textis induentur. Quo facto omnes flexis genibus in stallis suis legent psalmum *Miserere mei deus*, sine *Gloria patri*. Finito psalmo prepositus dicit *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster, Ave Maria, Et ne nos, chorus Sed libera; Exurge, domine, adiua nos, chorus Et redime nos propter nomen tuum; Exurge gloria mea, chorus Exurge psalterium et cythara; Exurgam diluculo, chorus Confitebor in populis domine; Domine exaudi, chorus Et clamor; Dominus nobiscum, chorus Et cum spiritu; Oremus Exaudi quesumus domine supplicum preces et consentium tibi parce peccatis, vt pariter nobis indul-*

gentiam tribuas benignus et pacem, Per Christum, chorus Amen. Tunc prepositus dicit *Confiteor*, chorus *Misereatur*, et iterum chorus *Confiteor*, prepositus dicit *Misereatur* et *Indulgentiam*. Et interim singulis personis datur candela accensa. Decano, cantori, et scholastico cuilibet thuribulum dabitur cum incenso. Quo facto omnes surgent, et legendo psalmum *Domine quid multiplicati sunt* egredi- (f. 97^v)-untur ad sepulchrum per duas ianuas vtriusque lateris, primum camerarii (Ms., Cāmerarii), deinde duo pueri albis induti cum vexillis albis damascis minoribus, postea chorales, vicarii, et canonici, iterum duo pueri cum accensis cereis et ecclesiasticus cum nola, deinde decanus, cantor, et scholasticus cum thuribus, quos sequitur prepositus, qui veniens ad sepulchrum aperit ipsum et thurificat venerabile sacramentum. Et quando leuat, tunc chorus humili et bassa voce cantat antiphonam *Ego dormiui*. Finita antiphona, cantando circumeant per ecclesiam cum antiphona *Cum rex glorie*. Et pauperes ibunt cum eorum candelis ante pueros candelas habentes. Et interim cum omnibus campanis solemniter pulsatur. In introitu ad chorum cantabitur solemnissime *Aduenisti*. Prepositus cum venerabili sacramento ascendet ad summum altare dando benedictionem, et postea defert venerabile sacramentum ad capellam omnium sanctorum reponendo illud ibidem. Interim subustus deponet velamen de reliquiis ab altari. Quo facto succentor incipiet solemniter *Regina celi*, quod vsque ad finem in organis respondente choro per totum proseguitur. Interim argentea maior imago resurrectionis cum vexillo suo (MS cum vexilla sua), similiter argentea maior imago beate virginis ponetur a custode canonico in summo altari et crux lignea ante summum altare super tapetum cum candela accensa. Finita antiphona, prepositus dicit *Gaude dei genitrix*, chorus respondebit *Quia surrexit filius tuus, alleluia*. Tunc prepositus dicit collectam *Deus qui per vnigeniti tui resurrectionem*, etc. (Matins follow.)

HAVELBERG

MS Aug. 84, 2, of the Wolfenbüttel Library, *Ordo Officiorum ecclesiarum in ecclesia Havelbergensi*, of the fifteenth century, has the following brief *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* has been published in the *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, vol. 55, p. 59.

<Depositio Crucis>

(f. 21^v) Vesperis hoc modo peractis, sacerdos precedente incenso et luminaribus cum ministris, consequente conuentu, deportat crucem ubi similitudo sepulcri ordinata est. Et submisce cantent *Ecce quomodo moritur*, aliud *Sicut ovis*. Interim sacerdos incensat locum, et crucem deuote repositam operiat et incensat dicens versum *In pace factus est*, collectam *Deus qui pro nobis filium*. In reditu cantant *Sepulto domino*. Deinde conuentus reficiat.

<Elevatio Crucis>

(f. 23^r) In sancta nocte ante matutinas conuentus tacite surgat ante pulsum. Et induti superpellicii cum vexillis, luminaribus, et incenso, sacerdote induto cappa rubea, vadant ad locum sepulcri. Et loco incensato, crucem inde deferant deuote in chorum cantantes submisce *Cum rex glorie* et pulsantur campane. Et deposita cruce retro altare super sindone prestrata, eam deosculentur reuerenter. Interim candelæ circa chorum et lampades accendantur post antiphonam in statione, sacerdos dicat versum *Surrexit dominus de sepulcro*, cum collecta *Deus qui hodierna die per vnigenitum*. Et redeant in chorum, et legantur trine orationes. (Matins follow.)

MAGDEBURG

Ordinarius sacrosancte ecclesie Cathedralis ac Metropolitane Magdeburgensis, now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Cod. Theol. lat. quart. 113), has the following *Depositio*, *Elevatio* and *Visitatio*. The text of the *Visita-*

tio is from a rather hurriedly made transcription of some years ago. The *Visitatio* is listed by Lange (Magdeburg VI) but not given.

< *Depositio Crucis* >

(Fol. 82^v) Quando hora nona reddidit, parabunt etiam ymaginarium sepulcrum domini ante altare sancti Laurentii, vbi etiam subcustos tempore suo habebit duos lapides ad sepulcrum crucis necessarios, et duo mundissima linthea alba quorum vnus cruci substernetur et alio cooperietur, quia Ioseph corpus domini inuoluit in syndone munda . . .

(Fol. 84^r) Completo officio (i.e. vespers) et preparamentis depositis, archiepiscopus et seniores domini tollent crucem et deuotissime ferent ad preparatum locum ymaginarij sepulcri. Et precedent eos duo thuribularii et predicti duo pueri canonici in albis cum candelis ardentibus. Et portando crucem cantabitur submisce responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur*, et responsorium *Sicut ouis* cum suis versibus et repeticionibus, et substernetur cruci ab episcopo mundissimum lintheum et alio lintheo mundissimo operietur, quia, vt supra dictum est, Ioseph inuoluit corpus domini syndone munda. Et sic cum deuotione et reuerencia locabitur in sepulcro. Ponentur etiam ab archiepiscopo duo lapides, vnus ad caput crucis et alius ad pedes. Deinde cruce thurificata ab episcopo cantatur responsorium *Sepulto domino* cum versu et repeticione. Et tunc dicet episcopus versum *In pace factus est locus eius*, respondente conuento *Et in Syon habitacio eius*. Et tunc ceroferarii et thuribularii ad sacrarium reuertentur.

De festo pasce sequitur

(Fol. 88^r) In sancta nocte pasce ante pulsationem matutinarum veniet archiepiscopus et domini canonici ad monasterium et alii qui voluerint et precedent eos ad ymaginarium sepulcrum duo domini cum thuribulis et deinde duo cum cereis quos accipiet in sanctuario, inter cereos septem proximos extremis. Et archiepiscopus crucem discooperiens thurificabit. Et tunc archiepiscopus et maiores domini cum multa (cf. 88^v) veneratione eleuantes crucem cantabunt omnes submisce, archiepiscopo inchoante, *Cum rex glorie*. Tunc prepulsabuntur matutine et sic cantantes reuerenter portabunt crucem retro summum altare et sistent eam ante sedem episcopalem, ponentes hinc et inde duo candelabra cum candelis. Ibi salutabunt eam qui volunt.

< *Visitatio Sepulchri* >

(Fol. 89^r) (*Dum transisset*) Et tunc processio cum candelis ardentibus exibat in monasterium, quam precedent primo cerei pascales, deinde cruces cum vexillis. Hii stabunt circa baptismum hinc et inde. Conuentus vero stabit hoc modo quod pueri versus occidentem et domini versus orientem, et chori stabunt versi contra se inuicem. Iuxta prepositum stabit archiepiscopus. Tunc duo canonici induentes cappas et accipientes duo thuribula que utraque subcustos ibi parata habebit representabant mulieres et visitabant sepulcrum ymaginarium. Interim chorus cantabit *Maria Magdalena*, quod incipiet prepositus maior vel cui ipse commiserat. Ad sepulcrum sedebunt dyaconi preparati, vnus ad dextrum, alius ad sinistrum, qui representabant duos angelos. Et mulieres cantabunt non clamose *Quis reuoluet*. Tunc angeli cantando interrogabunt *Quem queritis*. Et respondebunt mulieres *Ihesum nazarenum*. Iterum angeli *Non est hic quem*. Tunc mulieres thurificato sepulcro reuertentur et stantes inter locum baptismalem et conuentum cantabant aperta voce *Ad monumentum venimus*. Hoc cantato parati erunt duo canonici induti cappis qui representabant Petrum et Johannem et peruenit vnus citius alio sicut Johannes currit citius Petro, nec tunc Johannes introibit sepulcrum nisi cum Petro. Interim chorus cantat *Currebant duo*. Illi venientes ad sepulcrum accipient duo linthea et cantabunt *Cernitis o socii*. Quo cantato, archiepiscopus incipiet alta voce *Surrexit dominus*, quod chorus prosequitur, et, audita Christi resurrectione, prorumpit in voce alta cantans *Te deum laudamus*. Et tunc solemniter compulsatur et processio redibit ad chorum. Subcustos etiam ad inceptionem *Te deum* deponet velamen de reliquis in altari. *Te deum* cantato dicitur versus *Surrexit dominus de sepulcro*, vel alius. Postea *Deus in adiutorium*.

MOOSBURG

Breviarium ecclesie Mosburgensis, a *Directorium chori* of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (Cod. lat. 9469), has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. For its *Visitatio* see *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, vol. 50, p. 307.

<Depositio Crucis>

(f. 56^v) Expleta communione corpus Christi quod superfuerit diligenter et reuerenter in corporali involuto et super altari mobili posito portatur ad locum in quo crucifixus est adoratus et ibi sepulchrum pro sepultura crucifixi debet esse positum et circumductis pannis decenter preparatum. Et corpus Christi cum altari mobili primo super sepulchrum ponitur et clericis deuote circumstantibus incipiatur vespera sub pressa voce, *Confitebor tibi* cum reliquis psalmis ferialibus et *Magnificat*, hec omnia continuatim sine *Gloria patri*. Sequitur flexis genibus *Miserere mei* et *Pater noster* et versus *Proprio filio suo non pepercit*. Deinde recipiatur crucifixus et voce lenta et lugubri cantetur responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur*, versus *In pace in idipsum*. Finito responsorio, collocetur crucifixus in sepulchrum et lintheaminibus et sudario cooperiatur, deinde lapis videlicet altare mobile sub capite sev sub dextro latere ponatur cum alio scumario et signetur sepulchrum aliqua clausura et cantetur remisse responsorium *Sepulto domino*, versus *Ne forte veniant*, responsorium *Recessit pastor*, versus *Anie cuius conspectum*, aspergatur et thurificetur; sequitur versus *In pace factus est locus*, et sic est finis. Corpus Christi deinde reuerenter ad altare publicum deportatur et ibi diligenter reseruatur et pro communicantibus distribuitur.

<Elevatio Crucis>

(Fol. 58^v) In ipsa sancta nocte ante pulsacionem clam surgitur, sintque parata thuribula cum thure et mirra et thymiamathe et aspersorio, et excludantur layci, si commodè fieri potest, nam nobiscum viri et mulieres in ecclesia sacras vigilias observant et ueniente tempore matutinarum clerici eos sine scandalo repellere nequeunt propter antiquam consuetudinem vigilandi de qua dicit Ieronimus, ut dicit auctor Racionalis: Reor, inquit, tradicionem apostolicam permanisse vt die vigiliarum pasche ante noctis medium dimittere non liceat populos expectantes Christi aduentum vt resurgenti salvatori occurrant et postquam tempus illud transierit securitate presumpta festum cunctos agere diem; hec Ieronimus. Deinde decanus et seniores humiliter (fol. 59^r) progrediantur ante altare sancte crucis et dicant sibi mutuo *Confiteor* et *Misereatur*. Deinde cum summa reuerencia in simul accedant ad sepulchrum et dicant psalmos, *Domine quid multiplicati*, psalmum *Miserere mei, deus, miserere mei quoniam in te confidit*, psalmum *Domine probasti me*, *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster, Et ne nos*, versum *Exurge, domine, adiuua*, versum *Domine deus virtutum*, versum *Domine exaudi orationem, Dominus vobiscum. Oremus Da nobis domine auxilium*, et thurificent et aspergant ymaginem crucifixi sublatamque de sepulchro secum portent ante aram sancti Iohannis cantando humili voce responsorium *Dum transisset sabbatum* cum versu *Et valde*, sacerdos subiungat versum *Surrexit dominus vcre et apparuit*, oratio *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum*, Qua finita stantes ante altare se invicem mutua caritate deosculantes vel ad minus crucifixum dicant *Surrexit dominus*, alii respondeant *Gaudeamus omnes*. Deinde statim sollempniter pulsetur. Ad matutinum.

PRAGUE

MS XIII E 14d of the Universitätsbibliothek in Prague, *Directorium divini officii in monasterio S. Georgii in castro Pragensi*, of the fourteenth century, has the following *Depositio* with its brief mention of the *Elevatio*.

It has also a *Visitatio* not given by Lange but very similar to his "Prag XVII." This text is from a transcription made some years ago.

<*Depositio Crucis*>

(f. 73^r) Post misse officium sacerdotes portabunt crucem ad sepulchrum cum cereis et thuribulo, sacerdote ebdomadario illos communicante simulque cum eis submissa voce cantantes responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, responsorium *Recessit pastor bonus, Ioseph ab Arimathia*, responsorium *Sepulchro domino*. Interim ponunt crucem super tapete stratum in sepulchro quam operientes lintheo incensant et aspergunt et ponunt cereum ad caput qui non extinguitur usque dum in nocte cum aliis extinguatur. Ipsa vero crux, antequam pulsantur matutine, sacerdotes inde auferent eam, relicto tamen lintheo usque dum ipsa nocte sepulchrum a sororibus visitetur.

PRÜFENING

A *Directorium chori*, or *Ordo de divinis officiis*, of the Benedictine monastery of Prüfening, near Regensburg, now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (Cod. lat. 12018), has the following very full and interesting directions for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. It has no *Visitatio*. It has a *Depositio Crucis* at the close of the *Adoratio Crucis*, and a *Depositio Hostiae*, the real *Depositio* ceremony, after Communion.

<*Depositio Crucis*>

(f. 64^r) De cruce adoranda. . . . (f. 64^v) Deinde dominus abbas et qui crucem cum eo portat imponunt responsorium *Vadis propiciator*, cum quo cantu fit processio de choro ad monasterium, et precedit primo conuentus, deinde ministri, videlicet diaconus et subdiaconus, post hos duo iuvenes cum candelis, ultimo portitores crucis, et fit stacio ante altare sancte crucis quod antea a custode loco dominici sepulchri lintheo magno specialiter ad hoc apto velatum existit . . . (65^v) Quibus omnibus rite expeditis, singulis rursum genua flectentibus, cantor imponit antiphonam *Super omnia ligna cedrorum* tractim a choro canendam, qua inchoata, dominus abbas et qui cum eo crucem tenuit ymaginem crucifixi coram populo de cruce deponunt quam dominus abbas intra velum ante altare sancte crucis protensum in eodem altari vice dominici sepulchri preparato ponit et pannis ac lintheis ibidem positis reuerenter operit. Crucem vero in qua dicta ymago pependit custos per ministrum suum ad locum debitum deportari facit. Ipse vero mox chorum ingrediens scrineum reliquiarum retro altare in quo corpus dominicum reconditum est aperit, aspersoriumque cum turribulo ut ibidem habeantur et reliqua necessaria pro communione sancta rite disponit.

<*Depositio Hostiae*>

(f. 66^v) De corpore dominico in sarcofago in altari sancte crucis loco dominici sepulchri preparato recondendo. Expeditis (f. 67^r) omnibus supradictis, postquam dominus abbas, reposito iam retro altare sacramento, redierit ad altare, sumit (MS. sūmit) capsulam alteram in quam prius particulam unam eucharistie reposuit et defert eam sub casula ad altare sancte crucis vice dominici sepulchri preparatum. Et precedit eum totus conuentus processionaliter de choro egredientes et ante sepulchrum in vtroque choro stationem facturi. Et post conuentum secuntur duo ceroferarii et altaris ministri eo ordine quo supra in deportacione sacramenti processerant, post hos dominus abbas cum sacramento, deinde capellanus. Custos autem prouideat ut illico quinque lampades circa sepulchrum locentur moxque incendantur vsque ante nocturnos in sancta nocte dominice resurrectionis iugiter arsures, que tamen cum ceteris luminibus hac proxima nocte ad matutinas extinguuntur, post hoc autem viceuersa incenduntur. In ipso autem egressu processionis de choro cantor imponit responsorium *Ecce quomodo*

moritur iustus, quo cantato in ipsa stacione sequitur responsorium *Recessit pastor noster*, deinde antiphona *Ioseph ab Arimathia*, post hoc, responsorium *Sepulto domino*, dictorum vero responsorium versus cantare debent cantores ante sepulchrum. Insuper est notandum quod ceroferarii sepulchrum non ingrediuntur sed, candelabris ante sepulchrum in vtroque choro in terra locatis, stabunt ad loca sua nec extinguuntur ille candelæ vsque ad finem vesperarum. Dominus abbas vero et ministri nec non capellanus hōc sepulchrum, idest intra velum ante altare sancte crucis circumtensum ingrediuntur. Est autem in ipso altari prius per custodem sarcophagum quoddam reliquiarum positum in quod mox ut dominus abbas ingreditur reponit capsam cum corpore dominico, statimque cum ministris et capellano legit responsorium *Ecce quomodo*, responsorium *Recessit pastor*, antiphonam *Ioseph ab Arimathia*. Deinde claudit dominus abbas sarcophagum. Quo clauso et lintheis quibus et ymago crucifixi operta est cooperto, subiungunt responsorium *Sepulto domino*. Versus autem predictorum responsorium pronuncientur a capellano. Deinde subiungit dominus abbas versiculum *Tu autem domine miserere mei*, respondent ministri *Et resuscita me et retribuum eis*, dominus abbas dicit *Dominus vobiscum, Oremus, Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui Christi filii tui beatam passionem*, et concludit hanc collectam cum particula *Per eundem Christum dominum nostrum*, respondent ministri *Amen*. Deinde tam dominus abbas quam ministri flexis genibus dicentes *Pater noster*, denuoque surgentes similiter orent versus in sepulchro secundum rubricam infra scriptam. Quibus dictis, dominus abbas aqua benedicta aspergit et deinde (f. 67^v)thurificat tam sarcophagum sacramenti quam ymaginem crucifixi. Quo facto, dominus abbas et ministri et capellanus non expectantes conuentum mox ad chorum vel ad sacristiam vadunt et vestibus sacris se exuunt.

< *Elevatio Hostiæ et Imaginis Resurrectionis* >

(Fol. 73^v) Festum (Ms. Estū) resurrectionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi in summis et in septem luminibus solemnissimo et deuotissimo ritu agitur. Igitur in sancta nocte instante iam hora vndecima aut paulo antea custos ymaginem dominice resurrectionis ponit in sepulchro domini, idest in altari sancte crucis, deinde disponit pontificalia pro domino abbate, et tam pro eo quam pro capellano et duobus ceroferariis superpellicia et cappas in altari apostolorum locat. Moxque in dormitorio fit excitacio fratrum cum campanella. Pulsus vero in ecclesia non fit sed differtur vsque post processionem infrascriptam. Conueniunt itaque dominus abbas et fratres in ecclesia ante altare apostolorum, vbi dominus abbas pontificalibus humerali superpellicio stola et cappa induitur. Capellanus quoque et duo ceroferarii iuuenes similiter superpelliciis et cappis induuntur. Moxque ad sepulchrum domini omnes procedunt et hoc ordine: primo precedunt duo conuersi vel iuuenes deferentes duo candelabra cum candelis accensis, sicut in solemnibus processionibus processionem post vexilla solent preferri. Deinde conuentus per ordinem bini et bini, post hoc duo iuuenes ceroferarii, superpelliciis et cappis induti, cum candelis (f. 74^r) accensis et cimbaliis postea ante sacramentum pulsandis. Hos sequitur dominus abbas et capellanus. Cumque ante sepulchrum, idest ante altare sancte crucis extra velum, singuli ordinate circumsteterint, domino abbate incipiente submissa voce dicunt per choros hos psalmos *Miserere mei, deus, miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit, Domine probasti*, continuando sub vno *Gloria patri*. Deinde dominus abbas vicissim cum conuentu dicit *Confiteor deo patri* etc., more consueto, post hoc ingreditur dominus abbas cum capellano intra velum ad altare sancte crucis et primo aspergit aqua benedicta et thurificat sarcophagum sacramenti, deinde ymaginem crucifixi, lintheis ab inde depositis post thurificationem. Moxque ipse dominus abbas leni et mediocri voce incipit antiphonam *Alleluia, exurge gloria mea*, quam chorus complet addendo sub nota consueta versum *Christe salus rerum*, versum *Pollicitam sed redde fidem*, versum *Redde tuam faciem*. Interim dominus abbas cum debita reuerencia capsam sacramenti de sarcophago reliquiarum tollit. Et capellanus ymaginem resurrectionis accipit, altera ymagine crucifixi in altari relictā. Moxque finitis versibus predictis cantor imponit *Surrexit pastor bonus*, cum quo cantu processionaliter redeunt ad altare apostolorum conuentu precedente ordine quo prius, secunturque conuentum

ceroferarii cum candelis accensis et sonantibus cimbaliis, deinde dominus abbas deferens sacramentum, postea capellanus cum ymagine resurrectionis. Cumque ante altare apostolorum steterit conuentus per choros singuli in ordine suo in ipso accessu domini abbatis cum sacramento, omnes veniam super genua petunt, donec dominus abbas, versa ad conuentum facie, cum capsula sacramenti pro benedictione signum crucis faciat et sic etiam deinceps et in choro similiter fiat. Finito autem predicto cantu et addito in fine *Alleluia*, mox sine intermissione imponit cantor antiphonam *Cum rex glorie*, quam cantando fit processio per ambitum, itemque reditur ad altare apostolorum ordine suprascripto. Finita autem antiphona predicta, imponit cantor *Surgens Ihesus dominus noster*, addito in fine *Alleluia*. Deinde subiungit dominus abbas versiculum *In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus Deus qui ad eternam vitam in Christi resurrectione nos reparas*, ita concludendo *Ihesus Christus filius tuus dominus noster*. Respondet conuentus *Amen*. Moxque processionaliter intrando ad chorum ordine quo supra, cantore imponente, cantantur hii versus *O vere digna hostia, Gloria tibi domine qui surrexisti a mortuis*. Et relinquitur ymago dominice resurrectionis in altari apostolorum. Capsam vero dominici sacramenti dominus abbas, pre-(f. 74^v)-cedentibus eum ceroferariis cum cimbaliis, defert ad chorum, factoque ante summum altare versus conuentum pro benedictione signo crucis, retro altare vadit et ipsum sacramentum in scrinio reliquiarum super altari viatico, vbi et in cena domini et in parasceue sacramentum reconditum erat, honorifice reponit, locumque ipsum mox aqua benedicta aspergit et thurificat, custodisque cum diligencia claudit. Rediensque dominus abbas ante summum altare pontificalibus aliisque ornamentis exiit, similiter et capellanus et ceroferarii superpelliciis et cappis exiunt. Post hoc immediate fit pulsus cum omnibus campanis, deinde bine et bine campane pulsantur, itemque omnes simul compulsantur, sicut in maximis festis fieri solet. Sub hoc autem pulsu tolluntur de altari sancte crucis per custodem linthea quibus sarchofagum et ymago crucifixi obuoluta erant, similiter et velum maius ante idem altare circumtensum deponitur. Ipsaque ymago crucifixi et sarchofagum reliquiarum ad locum suum deportantur. Lampades etiam que circa sepulchrum ardebant extincte inde deponuntur. Candela vna in altari apostolorum ante ymaginem resurrectionis accenditur, et vsque post matutinales laudes donec ipsa ymago per custodem ad summum altare portetur, ardere permittitur.

TREVES (ST. MAXIMIN)

An *Ordinarius sancti Maximini prope Treviris*, of the fifteenth century, now in the Stadtbibliothek of Treves (Cat. MSS 1635), has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. For the *Visitatio* see *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. VIII, p. 469.

<Depositio Crucis>

(Fol. 78^r) Post sumpcionem omnium, reposita a sacerdote et ministris pixide in altari, sacerdos accipiat crucem et precedentibus ministris cum candelis et thuribulo vadant ad sepulchrum, conuentu sequente, maioribus precedentibus. Tunc sacerdos ponat crucem in sepulchro uertens pedes contra altare incensans et aspergens. Interim autem cantantur hec (f. 78^v) responsoria summissa voce, *Sepulto, Iherusalem, plange, Ecce quomodo*. Quibus finitis dicitur a sacerdote *In pace in idipsum*. Respondet conuentus cum venia *Dormiam et requiescam*. Postea surgant omnes et dimissis ad sepulchrum candelis et thuribulo, redeunt ad chorum ordine quo venerunt. Postea leguntur vespere sub silencio.

<Elevatio Crucis>

(Fol. 79^r) In nocte resurrectionis ad matutinas pulsatur vnum signum, surgant omnes fratres et veniant ad ecclesiam. Tunc induant se tres sacerdotes, duo albis et cappis et stolis ad crucem ferendam, tercius alba, stola et casula ad corpus dominicum. Induant se et tres

pueri, duo tunicis ad candelas, tercius cappa ad thuribulum, sint etiam serui parati ad portantum cereos magnos. Quibus sic paratis, ascendant retro altare hoc ordine, primo vadant serui cum magnis cereis, postea pueri cum candelis et thuribulo, deinde tres sacerdotes induti. Interim conuentus stet in choro, tunc (f. 79^v) sacerdos cum casulaumat ex altari corpus dominicum cum cuppa, aliis duobus simul cum ipso genua flectentibus, deinde vadant ad sepulchrum ordine quo venerunt et sequitur eos conuentus, prioribus precedentibus. Cum peruenerint ad sepulchrum, alii duo sacerdotes flectant genua sua, discooperiunt crucem, relinquentes in sepulchro sudarium et cum digna reuerencia leuant crucem. Tunc cantor incipiat *In die, Cum rex*, et quantum opus fuerit summissa voce cantando et fit processio circa ambitum. Cum peruentum fuerit ad altare sancti Andree ponant crucem super altare et candelas quas pueri portauerunt. Finito cantu sacerdos qui corpus domini fert dicat summissa voce *In resurrectione tua, Christe*, Conuentus respondeat *Celum et terra letentur, alleluia*. Deinde sacerdos *Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui gratiam dominice resurrectionis agnouimus*. Postea portatur corpus domini super maius altare, precedentibus magnis cereis, et aliis duobus sacerdotibus simul cum eo euntibus, pueris autem manentibus et se mox disuentionibus. Deinde pulsantur omnia signa et leguntur versus etiam graduum. Inter quod pulsantur signa bina et bina, deinde omnia. Quibus omnibus pulsatis incipiuntur matutine a versu *Domine labia mea*.

TROYES

I. MS 1150 of the Bibliothèque de Troyes, *Ordinarius liber ecclesie gloriosi prothomartiris Stephani, Trecensis*, of the fourteenth century, has the following *Visitatio*. It has no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*. The red ink of the rubrics was not of a durable quality and in some places is illegible. These two texts of Troyes are from transcriptions made some years ago.

<Visitatio Sepulchri>

(f. 172^r) Responsorium *Et ualde*, versus *Et respicientes*. Post hoc responsorium tres Marie introducuntur querentes sepultum, quas precedant pueri tenentes candelas accensas superpositas uirgis . . . (one or two illegible words follow) . . . albis tunicis, cantantes *Ortum predestinatio*. Donec ueniant in medio choro paruum persubistentes et cantantes *O deus* et procedentes stent ante altare inter duas tumbas. Tunc duo sacerdotes in signum angelorum a dextris et a sinistris stantes iuxta magnum altare dicant *Quem queritis* et cetera. Marie respondeant *Ihesum nazarenum* et cetera. Angeli, *Non est hic, surrexit* et cetera, quod dum cantant, amoueant albos pannos superpositos magno altari. Tunc Marie uertentes se ad chorum dicant *Alleluia, surrexit dominus* et cetera. Quo percantato, duo alii presbyteri in signum apostolorum stantes in choro unus a dextris et alter a sinistris dicant *Dic nobis Maria* et cetera. Una illarum respondeat *Sepulchrum Christi* et cetera. Et hec se uertens ad altare digito monstret dicens *Angelicos testes*, et ipsa uerso uultu ad populum dicat ut sequitur *Surrexit Christus* et cetera. Tunc illi duo presbyteri (f. 172^v) memorati dicant *Credendum est* et cetera. Chorus *Scimus Christum* et cetera. Chorarius *Te deum laudamus*, versus sacerdotis *In resurrectione tua*.

II. MS 833 of the Bibliothèque de Troyes, *Ordinarium secundum usum Ecclesie Trecensis*, fourteenth century, of the church of St. Peter in Troyes, has the following *Visitatio*. It has no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*.

<Visitatio Sepulchri>

(f. 49^r) Responsorium *Et ualde*, versus *Et respicientes*. Post tertium responsorium procedant ab aliqua parte ecclesie tres dyaconi in dalmaticis albis inducti uelatis capitibus amictis deferentes uasa aurea uel argentea cum thuribulis, pueris cum cereis et cruciculis ligneis

precedentibus, decantant versus istos *Ortum predestinacio* etc. Tunc unus de tribus dyaconis cantando dicit *O deus*. Respondent duo stantes ad altare *Quem queritis*. Respondent primi *Jhesus nazarenus*. Dicunt stantes ante ad altare *Non est hic*. Tunc tres primi uerso uultu ad chorum dicunt *Alleluia, resurrexit*. Succentor dicit *Dic nobis*. Respondet unus de tribus dyaconis *Sepulchrum Christi uiuentis*. Chorus cantando respondet *Credendum est*. Sequitur *Te deum laudamus*, quod incipitur ab episcopo uel decano tociens quociens faciunt officium, si non a chorario, presbytero dextro, versus sacerdotis *Surrexit dominus vere*. In laudibus.

ZÜRICH

MS C 8b of the Zürich Stadtbibliothek, a *Breviarium chori Turicensis* of the year 1260, has the following *Depositio Elevatio* and *Visitatio*. The *Visitatio* has been published several times (first by Gerbert, *Velus Liturg. Alem.* p. 864) but always with incomplete rubrics, especially at the beginning and the end. A somewhat later hand has made some additions to the original text, occasionally on erasures but generally between the lines or on the margins or in footnotes. These additions are incorporated in the following text in brackets.

<Depositio Crucis>

(Fol. 51^v) Tam ipse [sacerdos] ferens aliquam crucem uelatam quam omnes canonici (f. 52^r)-ci, habentes in manibus candelas accensas cum diuersis turibulis, per hostium altaris sancte Marie ad altare martyrum procedentes, remisse cantant responsorium *Recessit pastor noster*, versum *Anle cuius conspectum [hodie portas mortis]*. Psalmus *Miserere mei deus* vel psalmus *Notus in Iudea*. [Interdum tamen ambo psalmi leguntur]. Versus *In pace factus est locus eius*. Postea dicit sacerdos orationem *Omnipotens sempiterne deus [fac nos ita dominice passionis sacramenta peragere ut indulgentiam percipere mereamini per Christum dominum nostrum]*. Sed interim dum legitur predictus psalmus *Miserere mei deus* [uel psalmus *Notus in Iudea deus*] sacerdotes predictam paruam crucem ponunt et signando claudunt in archam que intra testudinem retro altare martyrum candido uelo circumpendente posita sepulchrum dominicum representat. Nam contra omnem rationem est quod in quibusdam ecclesiis Eucharistia in huiusmodi archa sepulchrum representante poni consuevit et claudi. Ibi enim Eucharistia que est uerum et uiuum corpus Christi ipsum Christum corpus mortuum representat, quod est indecens penitus et absurdum. In reditu uoce remissa cantatur responsorium *Sepulto domino* versus *Ne forte ueniant [ponentes milites]*. Et candelis edituo restitutis a binis et binis vespere dicuntur.

<Elevatio Crucis>

(Fol. 54^v) In sancta nocte pasche. Ad visitationem sepulchri. Ante pulsationem matutini canonici per seruos editui latenter conuocati. Cum turibulis et candelis accensis [solummodo superpelliciatil], procedentes per hostium altaris sancte Marie cantant remisse *Cum rex glorie*. Sed ad sepulchrum legitur psalmus *Domine probasti me* per totum. Sequitur *Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster*, versus *In resurrectione tua Christe*, oratio *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum*, et dum hec [fuerint] a canonicis, sacerdos cum suis ministris in-(f. 55^r)-trat testudinem et locum sepulchri et inde tollit linteum et facit alia que representant resurrectionem. In redeundo per hostium cancellorum canitur uoce remissa *Terra tremuit*, et edituo candeles resti[tu]untur. Et nota [quod concanonicus noster Heinricus Sluzzelli emerit predium in Niderun Glatta, soluens annuatim ii quatrinos sic instituens de consensu prepositi et capellani ut thesaurarius ecclesie Turicensis qui] pro tempore fuerit, candelas que habentur a canonicis et clericis in parasceue ad representandum dominicam sepulturam et quas habent in sancta nocte ad uisitationem sepulchri ex officio suo tenetur dare distribuere et postmodum a singulis redditus fideliter conseruare. Visitatione sepulchri finita more sollempni pulsatur matutinum.

<Visitatio Sepulchri>

(Fol. 55^v) Responsorium *Dum transisset* reincipitur et interim canonicus representaturus angelum, candidissima dalmatica indutus, per hostium altaris sancte Marie in choro transiens, ponit se super sedem ad dextrum latus [inferioris] altaris sanctorum martyrum, capite uelato per humerale. Sed clerus incantando responsorium *Dum transisset* cum turibulo et cruce processionaliter descendit per hostium cancellorum stans inter et ante altaria Karoli et Marie Magdalene, et, finito responsorio *Dum transisset*, subiungetur responsorium *Maria Magdalena* [vel potius hec brevis antiphona *Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata*] et duo de canonicis cappati et ferentes thuribula cum incenso representaturi mulieres Marias sepulchrum uisitantes progrediuntur ad altare martyrum et stantes quasi in opposito angeli deuote cantant *Quis reuoluet*. Angelus (f. 56^r) *Quem queritis*. Mulieres *Ihesum nazarenum*. Angeles *Non est hic*. Mulieres redeunt [versus] locum stationis clericorum cantant *Ad monumentum*. Quo finito clerus cantat aliquantulum remisit antiphonam *Currebant duo simul* et interim duo antiquiores et honorabiliores canonici casulati representaturi Petrum et Iohannem quasi festinanter uadunt ad [inferius] altare martyrum. Sed iunior citius seniore, et ibi duobus candidissimis linthe-[ol]-is [ab ipso canonico angelum representante] receptis, ipsa lintheola publice reportantes ad clerum et ostendentes cantant *Cernitis o socii* et statim chorum alta uoce subiungens *Te deum laudamus* in chorum reuertuntur, predictis lintheolis super brachiola crucis quam scolaris prefert positis modo debito et consueto [Hec eadem lintheola quasi formam stolarem habenta in processionibus pascalis temporis super brachiola crucis bacularis deferuntur, alias super brachia maioris crucis qua retro publicum altare inter archas sanctorum martyrum stat. Eadem posita remanebunt tempore pernotato.] Finito *Te deum laudamus* sequitur versus *Hec est dies quam factus dominus*, et sequitur *Deus in adiutorium*. Matutinales laudes.

RETURN
TO →

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Main Library • 198 Main Stacks

LOAN PERIOD 1 HOME USE	2	3
4	5	6

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS.

Renews and Recharges may be made 4 days prior to the due date.

Books may be Renewed by calling 642-3405.

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

FEB 05 1998

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PM 58

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REC. CIR. APR 14 '78

IRVINE

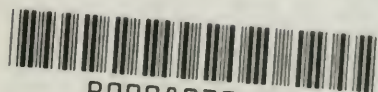
INTERLIBRARY LOAN

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

4-19-76

FORM NO. DD6

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY



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